

2207 22

THE
PARLIAMENTARY:
OR
CONSTITUTIONAL
History of England;
BEING A
FAITHFUL ACCOUNT
Of all the
Most remarkable TRANSACTIONS
IN PARLIAMENT,
From the earliest TIMES,
TO THE
Restoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED
From the RECORDS, the JOURNALS of both HOUSES, original MANUSCRIPTS, scarce SPEECHES, and TRACTS; all compared with the several Contemporary Writers, and connected, throughout, with the History of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS.

—*Juvat integros accedere Fontes.*

VOL. XIX.

From the Commencement of the Commonwealth in February, 1648, to the Marching of the Scots Army into England, under the Command of King Charles the Second, in August, 1651.

L O N D O N,

Printed, and sold by WILLIAM SANDBY, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street. MDCCLVII.

NOV 22 1927

Nov 22, 1927

ADVERTISEMENT.

LONDON, February 28, 1757.

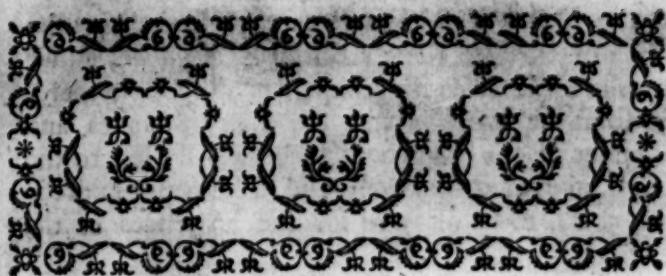
IT being now two Years since the 18th Volume of this Work made its Appearance in the World, some Apology may be expected for publishing no more than two Volumes at so long a Distance of Time.

The Reason of this Delay has been solely owing to the great Number of scarce Tracts and Manuscripts, that have been since communicated to the Authors, relating to the Proceedings of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate: A Circumstance which, though it has greatly increased the Labour of digesting and compiling the Work, has added very much to the enriching of the Subject. Upon this Occasion give us Leave, more particularly, to return our grateful Acknowledgments to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount Royston, for the Use of a complete Set of a curious and valuable Journal, publish'd by Authority of the Council of State, in French, for the Information of Foreigners, intituled, *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, which contains a very accurate Account of all Transactions in Parliament, and other Matters, from July 1650, to January 1682; as also to the University of Cambridge, who were pleased to pass a Grace, in Senate, for the Loan of several valuable Volumes out of their Public Library. The Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary to the Royal Society; the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey; and the late Robert Hoblyn, Esq; Member of Parliament for Bristol, have been greatly assistant in furnishing Materials for this Part of the Work; which has been also much improved from the Collections of the late William Petyt, Esq; (formerly Keeper of the Records in the Tower) consisting of above

Eighty

Eighty Volumes of Parliamentary Tracts, relating to the Period above-mentioned.

When the Proposals for this Work were first offered to the Public, the Intention was to have concluded with the Restoration; but the Authors having since been favoured, by the Reverend the Dean of Exeter, with the Minute-Book belonging to a Member of that Convention which restored the King, found in the Lyttelton Family, containing an exact Diary of the Debates of that Assembly, from April 1660, to their Dissolution in December following, they have been advised to continue the Work to this latter Period; a Crisis the more interesting, because, in this Interval, the Reader will find the principal Actors in the Civil Wars called to Account; and the Tables turned upon those who had so long lorded it, with such despotic Sway, over the Lives and Fortunes of their Fellow-Subjects. This Part of the Work, with a complete Index to the Whole, will be published with all possible Expedition.



T H E

Parliamentary History

O F

E N G L A N D.

THE Republican Party in the House of Commons having, by the Assistance of the Army, excluded all those Members who refused to concur in the late Proceedings against the King; having also abolished both Monarchy and the Peerage, and resolved to erect a Council of State, for the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, who were to act under the sole Authority of that House; the first Thing they did this Day, *February* 8, was to pass the following Resolutions touching the Disposal of the late King's Body, viz.

Inter-regnum,
1648.
February.

Resolved, ' That the House doth approve of *Windsor* for the Place of the late King's Burial, and that he be carried there To-morrow for that Purpose; also that the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Dr. *Fuxon*, with three Servants each, may attend the Funeral: That it be left

Resolutions of
the Commons
concerning the
late King's Bu-
rial.

Vol. XIX.

A

to

2 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

to the Duke of *Richmond* to take Order for the Place of the late King's Burial at *Windsor*, either in *Henry the Eighth's Chapel*, or the Choir there, as shall be thought fit; the Circumstances and Manner of the Interment to be wholly left to the said Duke of *Richmond*; and a Sum not exceeding 500 *l.* to be allowed for the Expences of the Funeral.'

They order the Great Seal to be broken, and make a new one of their own.

The several Persons in whose Custody the Seals of the Exchequer, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Duchy, the Seals for Statutes, &c. having, according to an Order of the House, delivered them up to a Committee appointed to consider of the Alteration of Seals, in different Offices; the Commons next proceeded to nominate a large Committee, who were ordered to inspect all the Commissions of the Peace in *England* and *Wales*, and give in the Names of fit Persons to be trusted with new Commissions, under their own Great Seal. This Mark of Sovereign Authority, lately ordered to be made, was brought into the House, this Day, by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Mr. *Whitlocke*, two of the Commissioners for the late Great Seal^a, which was broken and defaced whilst the House was sitting, and the Pieces thereof given to the said two Commissioners. Then an Act was passed for authorizing and establishing the new Great Seal; as also another for making it High Treason to counterfeit it; and it was committed to the Custody of Mr. *Whitlocke*, Mr. *Lisle*, and Mr. Serjeant *Keeble*, who were to continue Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal *quamdin bene se gesserint*^b.

Sir

^a The two other Commissioners were the Earl of *Kent*, and Lord *Grey of Warke*.

^b Mr. *Whitlocke* remarks, That it was debated whether they should be simply styled *Commissioners*, or *Lords Commissioners*; the Word *Lords* being less acceptable at this Time than formerly: Yet, that the House might not seem to lessen their own Authority, nor the Honour of the Offices by them constituted, they voted the Title to be *Lords Commissioners*, and the Act was passed accordingly.

Memorials, p. 374.

A Salary of 1000 *l.* per Annum was also voted to each of them.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington* had been nominated as a Commissioner, but urging his ill State of Health, and some Scruples in point of Conscience, he obtain'd his Excuse: However, the Commons ordered, as a Mark of Honour, and an Acknowledgment of his former faithful Discharge of that Trust, notwithstanding his Objections to their Authority, that he should be allowed to practice in all the Courts of *Westminster* within the Bar; and have Precedency in Place next to the Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Mr. *Whitlocke* has left us a Copy of the Speech made by himself, in the House, on this Occasion:

Mr. Speaker,

I AM now to declare myself whether I will accept or refuse the highest Place of ordinary Judicature in the Kingdom, to which your Favour and good Opinion hath been pleased to name me.

Mr. Whitlocke's
Speech on his
being appointed
one of the Com-
missioners there-
of.

I shall plainly lay before you the Motives that occur to me, both for the Acceptance and Refusal of it, and my humble Suit upon them; and I shall submit all to your Pleasure and Judgment.

The Motives I shall confine myself unto are four of either Sort.

1. For my Acceptance of it: May be the Honour of the Service, the Greatness of the Place, which may sway much with some others, but not with me, whose Ambition is of a lower Stature.

I never affected great Places; it is sufficient Honour to me to be a Member of this Honourable House, I desire no further Honour; and if Honour be *in honorante*, good Actions will render a Man more honourable than the Ceremonies and Pageantry of high Places, which may take with some of gayer Spirits more than it doth with me.

2. The second Motive for Acceptance is the Profit of the Place; and that is very considerable with most Men: I bless God, he hath given me Means convenient for me, and I hope he will bless that

4 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

to me, and keep me from wasting that which must be a Provision for many Children.

‘ And to me, Mr. Speaker, this is not so great a Motive as it may be to others, because those that know my Course can testify, that the Benefit of my Practice was more than the Salary of this Office, though I acknowledge your Bounty to your Servants.

3. ‘ The third Motive is the Command which this great Officer hath over the Persons and Fortunes of Men; which is a pleasing Thing, and much sought after by Men in this World, the Spirit of Domination being natural to us.

‘ But, Sir, in this I am of my Lord of *St. Alban’s* Judgment, who holds that Men in great Places are so far from having Command, that they are very Slaves themselves; Slaves to great Men, and Slaves to Business, and cannot command so much as their own Time.

4. ‘ The fourth Motive is the End of the Service; which is to do Right and Justice to Men, to relieve the Oppressed, to serve God, and serve you and my Country, which will be done by a due Performance of the Duty of this Place.

‘ And this to me, especially at this Time, is the greatest and strongest Motive of all others.

‘ Yet give me Leave, Sir, on the other Side, to lay before you the Motives for my Refusal of this Employment, which, in my humble Opinion, do far overbalance the other.

1. ‘ The first of these Motives is the Trouble of the Place, which hath the greatest and most constant Labour in it of any other Place in *England*; this Shop of Justice must be always open, *Nullus recedat a Cancellaria sine Remedio.*

‘ The Business of the Chancery is certainly more than of any other Court; the Trouble must needs be the greater, and the Burden the heavier, too heavy for me to bear.

‘ It is Trouble enough, and no easy Duty for one Man to attend the Service of this House; it is more

more than doubled by being a Commissioner of the Great Seal, whereof I have some Experience; and it hath brought me to be of the Poet's Opinion, *Beatus ille qui procul Negotiis*; a Condition longed for by me.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

2. 'The second Motive for my Refusal, is the Danger of this Employment, through the Envy of Men, more in these Times than others, and thro' the Importance of the Business, in the which, as in War, *Non licet bis peccare*.

'There will be Watchmen enough for one Failing; and one Party, almost in every Cause determined by him, will be ready to accuse and condemn him; no Man can sit in this Place, but he must expose his Person and Fortune to no little Danger.

3. 'The third Motive is the Difficulty of this Employment; some will labour to conceal or obscure the Truth as much as Eloquence, Learning, and Subtilty can invent; and it is hard to discern the clear Truth through these Shadows.

'The Judges of the Common Law have certain Rules to guide them; a Keeper of the Seals hath nothing but his own Conscience to direct him, and that is oftentimes deceitful.

'The Proceedings in Chancery are *secundum Arbitrium boni Viri*, and this *Arbitrium* differeth as much in several Men as their Countenances differ.

'That which is Right in one Man's Eyes is Wrong in another's; nothing is more difficult than to satisfy in Judgment: And this leads me to the last and strongest Motive for my Refusal of this Employment; which is,

4. 'My Unfitness and Want of Ability to undergo it; I mention not my Want of Ability of Body, though this Place requires much Pains, Labour, and continual Attendance; and my Health is not a little impaired, and my bodily Infirmities increased by my late Services, but I hold myself obliged to lay down my Life to serve you.

'I may more insist upon my Want of Abilities of Mind to perform this great Charge, and this is

6 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

best known to myself; though I confess it hath been too much likewise discovered to you, both upon former Occasions, and at this present; and it were not fit to honour me by this Place, and to dishonour yourselves by my weak Execution of it.

‘ Perhaps it may be objected, That these are but Pretences, whereof you are the most proper Judges. I do acknowledge, that it will not become me to oppose my Judgment to yours; but I am most conscious to myself of my own Disabilities, and beg your Consideration of them.

‘ A greater Objection is, That if I decline this Service at this Time, it will be a kind of Disowning your Authority, as unwarrantable and illegal; and a giving of my Judgment against your Proceedings, upon the present Alterations made by you.

‘ This, Sir, is far from me; and I suppose I have given my Testimony otherwise, in the Particulars mentioned by my worthy Colleague that spake last, in which I have owned your Authority.

‘ And for a strict formal Pursuance of the ordinary Rules of Law, it hath been hardly to be discerned in any of the late Proceedings on either Side, in all our great and weighty Transactions.

‘ Unavoidable Necessity hath put us upon those Courses, which otherwise, perhaps, we should not have taken.

‘ I am sure my sitting and acting here is according to the known Laws of *England*, and that my Protection at this Time is only from you; therefore my Obedience is only due to you, and there is no other visible Authority in Being but yourselves.

‘ These are sufficient Reasons to justify an Obedience to your Authority; which truly, Sir, I do own; and not scruple at all, as Things now are, to act by that Authority.

‘ I

c In signing a Warrant for a Writ to adjourn *Hilary Term*, and bringing in the new Great Seal, without the Concurrence of the other two Commissioners, who had been appointed by the House of Lords,

Whistocke, p. 372.

‘ I only scruple my Undertaking this great Charge, knowing my own Want to perform it as I ought to do; this Place requires quick Apprehension, general Learning, and deep Judgment, all which are wanting in me; but I see many worthy Gentlemen within these Walls, of much greater Abilities, and more compleatly furnished for the Execution of this Charge, than I am.

Inter-regnum.
1648.
February.

‘ My humble Motion therefore to you is, That you will be pleased to think of some Person more fit and worthy of this great Trust than I am; and to excuse me from being one of your Commissioners for the Great Seal of *England*, which is a Place too high for me.’

But all this was a *nolo episcopari* with Mr. *Whitlocke*.

The Speaker had been ordered to sound all the Judges, whether they would accept of new Commissions under the present Powers; and this Day he reported their Answers, That Baron *Trevor*, Justice *Bacon*, Justice *Creskeld*, Baron *Atkins*, Justice *Brown*, and Justice *Bedingfield*, desired to be excused from accepting of new Commissions to be Judges; and that the two Lord Chief Justices, [*Rolle* and *St. John*] the Lord Chief Baron, [*Wylde*] Justice *Fermyn*, Justice *Pheasant*, and Baron *Gates*, were willing to accept of them; but desired the House to declare, That the Judges should proceed according to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom. Hereupon a Declaration was agreed to in *hæc Verba*, ‘ That the Parliament of *England* do declare, That being fully resolved to maintain the Fundamental Laws of this Nation, for the Good of the People; and having appointed Judges for the Administration of Justice, in Execution thereof; they do expect that they should proceed accordingly.’

Six of the Judges
refuse to accept
of new Com-
missions.

This Declaration was ordered to be forthwith printed and published; and the Name of the *King's Bench* was directed to be changed into that of the *Upper Bench*: The Commons also ordered that their

Alterations in
the Style of the
Courts of Law,
&c.

8 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum,
1648.

February,

their Clerk be required, from henceforth, to subscribe all Acts, Orders, and Proceedings of that House, by the Name of *Clericus Parliamenti*.

Feb. 9. This Day the Commons pass'd an Act for restraining and prohibiting the printing and publishing of the Passages and Proceedings of the High Court of Justice; another for repealing the several Clauses and Branches, in the Acts of the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the third of King *James*, touching the Oaths of Allegiance, Obedience, and Supremacy. They also agreed to the following Oath to be taken by all the Judges *mutatis mutandis*:

A new Oath to
be taken by the
Judges.

YE shall swear that well and truly ye shall serve the Parliament and People, in the Office of Chief Justice of the Upper Bench formerly call'd the King's Bench: You shall not give any Counsel or Assent to any Thing, which may turn to the Damage of the Parliament and People by any Way or Colour: Ye shall do equal Law and Execution of Right to all the People, rich and poor: Ye shall not take by you, or by any other Person, privately nor openly, any Gift or Reward, of Gold or of Silver, or any other Thing which might turn you to Profit, of any Man that shall have any Plea or Process hanging before you, as long as before yourself the Pleas and Processes shall be hanging; nor after, for that Cause: Ye shall take no Fees nor Livery of any Person as long as ye shall be Justice, but of the Parliament, and by their Allowance: And in case any Person or Persons come before you in your Sessions or Assizes, with Force and Arms, or otherwise against the Peace, to disturb the Execution of Justice; or do menace the People, that they may not prosecute the Law, ye shall cause them to be arrested, and put them in Prison: And in case they be such as ye may not arrest, ye shall then certify the Parliament, or the Council of State by their Authority appointed, of their Names and of their Misdoings: Ye shall not maintain by yourself, nor by none other, privily nor openly, any Plea or

Quar-

Quarrel, hanging in the Courts at Westminster, or elsewhere in the Country: Ye shall not delay any Person common Right for any Letters or other Cause; but shall proceed to do the Law, the same notwithstanding: Ye shall procure the Profit of the Commonwealth in all Things ye may reasonably do: As God ye help.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February,

Feb. 10. Several more Erasements appear again on the *Journals*, in this and the succeeding Days, all vacated by Order of *February 22, 1659*, upon the Restitution of the Secluded Members.

Feb. 12. Letters came this Day from *Edinburgh*, The Scots pro-claim Prince *Charles* for their great Solemnity; who had also resolved to send a burgh. Committee of four, consisting of one Earl, one Baron, one Burgeses, and one Divine, to invite him thither; upon Condition that, before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he should give Satisfaction to the Kingdom of *Scotland* in those Things that concern'd the Security of Religion, the Union of the two Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of that Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; for which End they were resolved, with all possible Expedition, to make their humble and earnest Addresses unto his Majesty.

Feb. 13. The Commons ordered that no private Business should be admitted to be debated there till the 26th of this Month. Then

Mr. *Scot* reported, from the Committee appointed to nominate a Council of State, the following Instructions for their Direction; which were agreed to by the House, and are as follow:

I. ' **Y**OU, or any of you, are hereby authorized and required to oppose and suppress whomsoever shall endeavour to go about to set up or maintain the pretended Title of *Charles Stewart*,
Instructions for the Council of State.

10 The Parliamentary History

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

‘ Stewart, eldest Son to the late King, or any
‘ other of the said late King’s Issue, or claiming
‘ under him or them; or the pretended Title or
‘ Claim of any other single Person whomsoever,
‘ to the Crown of *England* or *Ireland*, Dominion
‘ of *Wales*, or to any of the Dominions or Terri-
‘ tories to them, or either of them, belonging.

II. ‘ You, or any * of you ^d, are hereby autho-
‘ rized and impowered to order and direct all the
‘ Militias and Forces, both by Sea and Land, of
‘ *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions to them,
‘ or either of them, belonging, for preserving the
‘ Peace and Safety thereof; and for preventing, re-
‘ sisting, and suppressing all Tumults and Insurrec-
‘ tions that shall happen to rise in them, or either
‘ of them, or any Invasions of them from abroad :
‘ And also, upon any Emergencies, to raise and
‘ arm such Forces as you shall judge necessary for
‘ the Ends above express’d; and to give Commis-
‘ sions, under the Seal of the Council, to such Of-
‘ ficers as you shall judge necessary for the leading,
‘ conducting, and commanding of the said Forces;
‘ and for the Prosecution and Pursuance of these
‘ Instructions, or of any other Instructions you
‘ shall receive from the Parliament.

III. ‘ You are hereby authorized and required
‘ to use all good Ways and Means for the redu-
‘ cing of *Ireland*, the Isles of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*,
‘ *Scilley*, and the Isle of *Man*; and all other Parts
‘ and Places belonging to the Commonwealth of
‘ *England*, not yet reduced.

IV. ‘ You, or any * of you, shall take Care that
‘ the Stores and Magazines of all Military Provi-
‘ sions, both for the Land Service and for the Sea,
‘ be, from Time to Time, well and sufficiently
‘ furnished; and that the same be issued, as you,
‘ or any * of you, shall, by Warrant, direct: And
‘ you, or any * of you, are also, from Time
‘ to

^d These Instructions are thus enter’d in the *Journals*: But, on
the 17th of this Month, it was resolved, That every Instruction
should go on in the general, *You are hereby authorized*, without
Mention of any *Quorum*.

‘ to Time, to take Care of the Repair of the Shipping belonging to the Commonwealth; and to build such others as you shall judge necessary for the Defence and Safety thereof.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February,

V. ‘ You, or any * of you, are to use all good Ways and Means for the Securing, Advancement, and Encouragement of the Trade of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions to them belonging; and to promote the Good of all foreign Plantations and Factories belonging to this Commonwealth, or any of the Natives thereof.

VI. ‘ You, or any * of you, shall advise, order, and direct concerning the entertaining, keeping, renewing, or settling of Amity and a good Correspondency with foreign Kingdoms and States; and for preserving the Rights of the People of this Nation in foreign Parts, and composing of their Differences there; and you are hereby authorized to send Ambassadors, Agents, or Messengers to any foreign Kingdom or State; and to receive Ambassadors, Agents, or Messengers from them for the Ends aforesaid

VII. ‘ You are to advise and consult of any Thing concerning the Good of this Commonwealth, and report your Opinions concerning the same, as you find Occasion, to the Parliament.

VIII. ‘ You, or any * of you, are hereby authorized to send for any Person or Persons whatsoever, to advise with them, in pursuance of these or any other Instructions that shall be given unto you.

IX. ‘ You, or any * of you, have hereby Power and are authorized to send for any Records, Writings, Accounts, Books, or Papers that you shall think fit for your Information, in any Cause, Matter, or Thing in Agitation before you, in pursuance of these or any other Instructions that shall be given you by the Parliament.

X. ‘ You, or any * of you, have Power, and are authorized, in case of Danger to the Commonwealth, to administer an Oath to any Person or Persons for the Discovery of the Truth.

XI.

12 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

XI. ‘ You, or any * of you, are hereby authorized and empowered to send for and imprison, or otherwise to secure, by taking bound in Recognizance, any such Person or Persons as shall be Offenders against these or any other Instructions which you shall receive from the Parliament; and all such as shall contemn, or be refractory to any your Commands, Directions, or Orders in pursuance of the said Instructions.

XII. ‘ You, or any * of you, have hereby Power, and are authorized to charge the Public Revenue, by Warrant under the Seal of the Council, with such Sum and Sums of Money, from Time to Time, as you shall find necessary for defraying all Charges of foreign Negotiations, Intelligence, and other Incidencies; and for the Salary of such subordinate Officers and Attendants as you shall judge fit to employ; and for the effectual carrying on of the Service by these Instructions committed to you, or by any other Instructions hereafter to be given you from the Parliament.

XIII. ‘ You are also, or any * of you, to observe and put in Execution such further Orders as you shall receive from Time to Time from the Parliament.

XIV. ‘ The Power hereby committed to this Council of State shall continue for the Space of one Year from the Day of passing hereof, unless it be otherwise ordered by the Parliament.’

Feb. 14. The House, according to a former Order, went upon the Nomination of Persons to constitute their new Council of State; when the following Lords and Gentlemen were named:

The Names of
those that con-
stituted it.

<i>Basil, Earl of Denbigh,</i>	<i>Henry Rolle, Lord Chief</i>
<i>Edmund, Earl of Mulgrave,</i>	<i>Justice of the Upper Bench,</i>
<i>Philip, Earl of Pembroke,</i>	<i>Oliver St. John, Lord</i>
<i>William, E. of Salisbury,</i>	<i>Chief Justice of the</i>
<i>William, Lord Grey of</i>	<i>Common Bench.</i>
<i>Warke,</i>	<i>John</i>

Of ENGLAND. 13

<i>John Wylde</i> , Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer,	<i>Bulstrode Whitlocke</i> , Esq;	Inter-regnum. 1648.
<i>John Bradshaw</i> , Serjeant at Law,	<i>Sir Arthur Hesslerig</i> , Bart.	February.
<i>Thomas</i> , Lord <i>Fairfax</i> ,	<i>Sir James Harrington</i> , Kt.	
<i>Thomas</i> , Lord <i>Grey</i> of <i>Groby</i> ,	<i>Robert Wallop</i> , Esq;	
<i>Oliver Cromwell</i> , Esq;	<i>John Hutchinson</i> , Esq;	
<i>Philip Skippon</i> , Esq;	<i>Sir Henry Vane</i> , jun. Kt.	
<i>Henry Martin</i> , Esq;	<i>Dennis Bond</i> , Esq;	
<i>Isaac Pennington</i> , Alder- man of London,	<i>Philip</i> , Lord <i>Lisle</i> ,	
<i>Sir Gilbert Pickering</i> , Bt.	<i>Alexander Popham</i> , Esq;	
<i>Rowland Wilson</i> , Alder- man of London,	<i>Sir John D'Anvers</i> , Kt.	
<i>Anthony Stapeley</i> , Esq;	<i>Sir William Armyne</i> , Bart.	
<i>Sir William Mafham</i> , Bt.	<i>Valentine Wauton</i> , Esq;	
<i>Will. Heveningham</i> , Esq;	<i>Sir Henry Mildmay</i> , Kt.	
	<i>Col. Persoy</i> ,	
	<i>Sir William Constable</i> , Bt.	
	<i>John Jones</i> , Esq;	
	<i>John Lisle</i> , Esq;	
	<i>Col. Edmund Ludlow</i> ,	
	<i>Thomas Scot</i> , Esq;	

The House divided, 50 against 25, for the Earl of *Pembroke*, and 23 only against 20, for the Earl of *Salisbury*. All the rest were agreed to without Division; but a Motion for Commissary-General *Ireton* and *Col. Harrison* to be of this Council of State, pass'd in the Negative: However, the next Day, the House having resolved, That the Number of Persons to be of the Council of State should consist of forty-one, and no more, *Cornelius Holland* and *Luke Robinson*, Esqrs. were added to the foregoing. It was likewise ordered, That nine of the Persons above-named, and not under, should constitute the said Council of State, to act according to Instructions. But a Question being proposed, That there should be a Lord President of this Council, it passed in the Negative, by 22 against 16: So jealous was the House, at this Time, of the Rule of a single Person in any Shape whatsoever.

Feb. 15. The Commons being informed that the Lord *Paw* and the Lord *Joachim*, Ambassadors

The Ambassadors
from the States
General admitted
to an Audience,
by the House of
Commons.

Or-

14 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

Ordinary and Extraordinary from the States General of the *United Provinces*, were ready to receive an Answer from the House to their Papers, formerly presented to them, the Serjeant, by Command, went with his Mace to attend them from the Court of Wards : And when they were entered within the House, they uncovered their Heads ; Mr. Speaker and the Members of the House, being likewise uncovered, stood up ; and, from the Bar, the Master of the Ceremonies and the Serjeant attended them, the one on the Right Hand, the other on the Left, to two Chairs placed on the North Side of the House, with two Cushions and Footstools ; where being set, Mr. Speaker read the Answer of the House to them in these Words :

Their Answer
to a Letter, formerly
presented
by those Ambassadors,
interceding for the late
King's Life.

WE the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament, upon due and serious Consideration of your Lordships Address made to this House the 29th of *January* last, and your Papers presented the 30th of the same Month, do, in the first Place, return our many and hearty Thanks unto the High and Mighty Lords the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, for their sundry good Desires, friendly Acknowledgements, Well-wishes, and fair Respects to the Parliament and People of *England*, in those Papers contained ; earnestly desiring, on our Parts, a firm and durable Continuation of the antient Amity and Alliance, formerly made and often renewed, betwixt both these Nations : Whereunto we hold ourselves obliged, as having well weighed and observed that no Leagues or Confederacies have at any Time been made upon Foundations of more joint and common Interest, in every Respect, than those of the People of *England* with the *Netherlands* : And therefore it is our most earnest Desire, that a firm Peace, and right Understanding, and good Correspondency may be inviolably maintained betwixt both Nations for the present, and most exactly observed for the future.

And

‘ And whereas your Lordships, in the Name of
 ‘ the *States-General*, do gravely advise us concern-
 ‘ ing the Person of the King (who was then in
 ‘ Part, and hath since been more fully, proceeded
 ‘ against according to Justice, in a Court establish-
 ‘ ed by the Supreme Authority of this Nation, for
 ‘ his transcendent Offences, and those not commit-
 ‘ ted in a Corner); we are confident that both the
 ‘ High and Mighty Lords the *States-General* of the
 ‘ *United Provinces*, and all other States and Princes
 ‘ who have taken Notice of our late Affairs, will
 ‘ find Cause to believe that nothing hath been done
 ‘ therein but what is agreeable to public Justice
 ‘ and the Fundamentals of this Nation; which
 ‘ certainly must needs be better known to us than
 ‘ to any other People or Nation in the World. And
 ‘ we shall desire your Lordships would from us as-
 ‘ sure the High and Mighty Lords the *States-Gen-
 ‘ eral*, that we shall be ever ready not only to hear,
 ‘ but to contribute with them all good Means and
 ‘ Offices, to fulfil such Works as shall be neces-
 ‘ sary for the general Good of Christendom, as
 ‘ well as for our own.’

Inter-regnum;
 1648.

February.

After reading this Answer the Ambassadors rose up, uncovered their Heads, and making a low Obeisance, declared their good Resentment of the Parliament's Answer and Respects to them, and were conducted back with the same Ceremonies.

The same Day the House ordered that the Arms of the late King, over the Speaker's Chair, be forthwith taken down; and that an Act be brought in for taking away the same out of the several Courts of *Westminster*, and all other public Places; and that the Arms of *England* be set up in their Stead.

Feb. 17. Commissary-General Ireton reported the following Declaration, in Answer to the Scots Commissioners Letters of the 6th and 22d of last Month, which was agreed to by the House, or-
 dered

16 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

A Declaration
of the House,
on occasion of
two Letters from
the Scots Com-
missioners upon
the same Sub-
ject.

dered to be sent to those Commissioners, and also
to be forthwith printed and published *.

‘ **H**OW desirous this House and the Well-
‘ affected of this Nation have been, during
‘ all the late Troubles, to preserve a good Under-
‘ standing with our Brethren of *Scotland*, will be
‘ easily discerned by the Transactions between us
‘ and them; wherein, how often and how wil-
‘ lingly, we have departed from our own Interest
‘ to satisfy theirs, is sufficiently known: And al-
‘ though it is notoriously evident to all Men, how
‘ all Treaties and Leagues that were between us
‘ have been broken and violated by the public Act
‘ of the late Parliament of *Scotland*, in invading
‘ this Nation with a great Army; and that there-
‘ fore Obligations from us to them, that had grown
‘ from those Treaties and Leagues, are, by that
‘ Default of theirs, in Justice, made void, as
‘ we must, and hereby do, declare them to be; yet
‘ we are still willing to entertain a Corresponden-
‘ cy and good Understanding, upon the Terms of
‘ common and mutual Friendship, with the Well-
‘ affected of that Nation; and therefore we enter-
‘ tained, with all fitting Respects, their Commis-
‘ sioners lately sent hither, upon the Sight of their
‘ Letters of Credence; but having since received
‘ from those their Commissioners certain Letters,
‘ dated the sixth and twenty-second of *January*
‘ last, which contain divers Things in relation to
‘ our Affairs, not proper for any of another Nation
‘ to take Notice of, at least not in such a Manner
‘ and such Terms as they do: Although it, there-
‘ fore, seems not necessary for us to give them
‘ any Answer thereunto; yet they, or some other
‘ for them, having taken a Course to print and
‘ publish the same, as far as in them lies, to the
‘ Prejudice and Scandal of our just and necessary
‘ Proceedings, we find ourselves concerned to pub-
‘ lish a just Answer thereunto, for Satisfaction to
‘ the

* From the Original Edition, printed for *Edward Husband*, Fe-
bruary 22, 1648.

‘ the World, to the View whereof they have exposed the same ; and therefore finding their Letter of the Twenty-second to be little more than the fuller expressing, and further urging, the latter Part of that of the sixth of *January*, we shall follow the Order of their first Letter, and at the last Paragraph answer both that and their other together.

Inter-regnum.
1648.
February.

‘ And although, by this Method, we shall be forced often to fall into some Repetitions, their Letter having the same Things almost in every Paragraph ; yet that nothing may be omitted, we shall take that Course.

‘ But, before we come to those Particulars, we must needs take Notice of one Mistake, generally implied in their Letters, and more than once plainly held forth, *As if the King's Person might not be disposed of in England, without the Advice and Consent of the Kingdom of Scotland* ; which Assertion, in these Letters implied, and in several Papers of their former Commissioners expressly mentioned, hath received so full and clear an Answer, by the Declaration of this House, passed and published the 28th of *November*, 1646, as that nothing need be further said in that Point ; that Declaration having been sent to the Parliament of *Scotland*, and delivered by our last Commissioners there, and we having not yet seen any Thing published in Answer to it : When we shall find any Thing answered, as to that Point, that shall seem to need a Reply, we shall be ready to satisfy any just Objection ; but, in the mean Time, think it necessary either to repeat or epitomize what is there fully declared.

Next follows a Copy of the Scots Commissioners Letters of the 6th and 22d of January last, already given in our Eighteenth Volume, and then the Parliament's Answer digested by way of Paragraph, thus,

‘ As to the first Paragraph, this being but an Enumeration of such Things, about which they
VOL. XIX . B were

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

' were to present Propositions to the King, and to
 ' deal with him and the Houses, *viz.* Concerning
 ' Forms in Religion in this Nation; and for that
 ' we meet with the same Particulars in most Parts
 ' of their Letter upon several Occasions, we shall
 ' say no more here; but that it is well known to
 ' the Commissioners, what Pains hath been taken
 ' already in that Affair, and how much Time spent
 ' about it; and we doubt not but God will be so
 ' with us, as we shall do that, for promoting and
 ' establishing of Religion in this Nation, which
 ' God, by his Word, shall discover to us to be
 ' his Will and our Duty in it. But whatever the
 ' Propositions were, which, they say, they had to
 ' present to the King, concerning any Thing to be
 ' established, prevented, or perfected in this Na-
 ' tion, we hope they were not meant to have been
 ' presented to the late King by them alone, with-
 ' out the Parliament of *England*, for that were to
 ' have assumed to themselves and him a Power of
 ' imposing Laws upon this Nation as they pleased;
 ' which were an Infringement of the distinct Rights
 ' and Liberties of the free People of this Nation,
 ' contrary to all Treaties, and the Covenant itself,
 ' and an Usurpation not to be indured without just
 ' Indignation on our Parts, and Reparation on theirs;
 ' and yet their Language seems to import no less:
 ' But if they meant Propositions from them, to have
 ' been presented to the Parliament, and then, if
 ' approved, to the King, as from both Kingdoms,
 ' we have already had Experience enough of ad-
 ' mitting the Commissioners of *Scotland* to an In-
 ' terest or Communication with us, in Propositions
 ' concerning the Affairs of this Nation; and far too
 ' much of multiplying Propositions or Addresses to
 ' that Man, and attending, for our Peace, the Plea-
 ' sure of him, who, for the Advancement of his
 ' own Will, Power, and Personal Interest, against
 ' the Public Interest of the several Kingdoms, hath
 ' been the chief Author, Continuer, and Renewer,
 ' of all the Wars and Troubles in the three King-
 ' doms; and hath too abundantly demonstrated,
 ' That

‘ That he would not willingly admit of any Peace
 ‘ or Settlement, but for the Advantage of his and
 ‘ his Family’s Interest, to the public Prejudice of
 ‘ the several Kingdoms, or at least of this.

Inter-regnum,
 1648.
 February.

‘ In Answer to the second Paragraph: We are
 ‘ very sorry to see many Passages in their Letter,
 ‘ which if we should pass over in Silence, we should
 ‘ do wrong to the public Cause in our Hands; and
 ‘ if we answer them as we ought, we must speak
 ‘ the Things we had rather forbear. From whence
 ‘ these late Distractions, which they say are grown
 ‘ so high, had their first Contrivance, and from
 ‘ whom they were fomented in their Breeding and
 ‘ Infancy, we are not ignorant, though there are
 ‘ those of the *Scots* Nation that know it better than
 ‘ we; and how the Kingdom of *Scotland* did, in
 ‘ the Midst of those Distractions, invade us with a
 ‘ great Army, is known to all Men; which, with-
 ‘ out the extraordinary Power of God appearing
 ‘ wonderfully for us, had overwhelmed us, as the
 ‘ State of our Affairs was then complicated and
 ‘ distracted by the working of the said Contrivances,
 ‘ and raising of Insurrections in most Parts of the
 ‘ Land; and as our Forces were then in several
 ‘ Places divided, and engaged for suppressing such
 ‘ Insurrections: But as God was then pleased to
 ‘ own our own weak Condition, and execute Judg-
 ‘ ment by a handful of Men upon the proud Ene-
 ‘ my, that had already swallowed us up in De-
 ‘ sign; and, against all Obligations of Leagues and
 ‘ Treaty, and the so much pretended Covenant, in
 ‘ the most hateful scedifragous Manner, did invade
 ‘ us in our distracted Condition; and in all o-
 ‘ ther Places of the Kingdom was with us, bles-
 ‘ sing our Forces with Success, to a happy Ending
 ‘ of this second and most dangerous War; so we
 ‘ hope he will carry us through in the Execution of
 ‘ Justice impartially upon all the principal Authors
 ‘ of these Troubles and Distractions, and thereby
 ‘ to lay the surer Foundation of a sound Peace, the
 ‘ Execution of Justice being the best Means to e-

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ stablish the Tranquility and Happines of any
 ‘ People; and without our thus proceeding, even
 ‘ against the greatest Offender, the King, (for
 ‘ whom this Letter pleaded) we could not expect
 ‘ to see any End of our Troubles.

‘ To what they say concerning a Force placed
 ‘ upon the Passages to the Houses, and the rest that
 ‘ followeth in that Point, we should have expected,
 ‘ of all Men, to have heard least of that from these
 ‘ Commissioners of *Scotland*: It is not six Months
 ‘ since that (the Army of the Parliament of *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, which invaded this Kingdom, being, by
 ‘ the Blessing of God, overcome) those that now
 ‘ govern Affairs there, who were before oppressed
 ‘ by them, raised Forces of their own Authority;
 ‘ and, by Force, caused them who had the Parlia-
 ‘ mentary Authority, to fly from *Edinburgh*; and,
 ‘ by the Help of our Forces then in the North, in-
 ‘ vited to their Assistance, did compel the disband-
 ‘ ing of the Forces there remaining that were raised
 ‘ by the Parliament; and, having modelled their
 ‘ own Forces, did call another Parliament while
 ‘ the former was, by Adjournment, continued; and
 ‘ gave such Limitations to the new Elections as
 ‘ they judged most for the Interest, Safety, and
 ‘ Peace of that Kingdom; and that Parliament
 ‘ hath since sat under the Protection of those Forces
 ‘ so raised.

‘ All which Particulars put together, do certain-
 ‘ ly amount to as much Irregularity and Breach,
 ‘ in Form, of both Privilege of Parliament, and
 ‘ Freedom of Elections thereto, as that which
 ‘ our Army (raised by full Authority of Parliament,
 ‘ for Defence of the Liberties of this Kingdom)
 ‘ hath done, in secluding some Members of Parlia-
 ‘ ment, and imprisoning others, who had begun,
 ‘ carried on, and were proceeding, resolvedly, to
 ‘ finish such a Conjunction with the common Ene-
 ‘ my, as would visibly have rendered up those Li-
 ‘ berties into his Hands; debarred that Justice upon
 ‘ Delinquents, to which even the Covenant did
 ‘ engage; and defeated the Hopes of that Reforma-
 ‘ tion

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

tion, and precluded the Consideration of those Matters of Religion, which these Commissioners here plead for, and for which only, or principally, they say, they were employed hither.

The Imprisoning of some of which Members is alledged, by the Army, to be, amongst other Things, for Confederacies or Correspondences with that Party in *Scotland*, against whom, and in those Engagements and Actings for which, the said Committee of Estates there hath so proceeded as aforesaid; which we suppose will, in due Time, be made appear accordingly. Neither surely can our continuing, without those Members, to sit in Parliament, under the Safeguard of this Army, be less justifiable in Form, than their Committee of Estates, sitting under the Protection of that Force they had so raised as aforesaid, without the Members they had driven away thereby; or than their new Parliament's sitting by virtue of those Actings, and under Protection of the same Force.

We do not mention these Things as condemning them, or to recriminate or retort upon them; nor do we think their Examples to be our or the Army's Justification; for it is the Justness of the Grounds and Ends, the Integrity of Intentions, and Necessity of the Actings in relation to those Ends, that only can justify them or us in such Proceedings: But we conceive these Commissioners might well have spared the Mention of these Particulars, both for that they are Strangers to our Interest, and ought not to interpose in it; and for that they, and the Committee of Estates that sent them, have acted higher in the same Nature themselves, and their Parliament now sits by the Power of those Actings.

And whereas they say, *The Members were secluded during Transactions of highest Moment*; the late Papers from the Army, and our late Resolutions in relation to that Seclusion, may sufficiently evidence that it was immediately done,

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ and is continued, upon occasion of that Vote of
 ‘ the 5th of *December* last; whereupon we leave
 ‘ it to be considered, whether those Transactions,
 ‘ in relation to which the Members were exclu-
 ‘ ded, were not their Endeavours of closing with
 ‘ the King, to the deserting of those Matters of
 ‘ religious Concernment, for which these Com-
 ‘ missioners were sent, and do here so much plead;
 ‘ or whether the Members, so excluded, were any
 ‘ other than such as were guilty of that Endeavour?

‘ And whereas they say, *It hath occasioned many*
 ‘ *others to withdraw, because they cannot act as a*
 ‘ *free Parliament*: Whether this be their Judg-
 ‘ ment, or the Commissioners own, we know not;
 ‘ if some Members, that are absent, be of that
 ‘ Judgment, that they cannot act freely, we nei-
 ‘ ther force their Judgments, nor find ourselves
 ‘ under any such Force, as to hinder the free Ex-
 ‘ ercise of our own. We doubt not but strong
 ‘ Endeavours are used, as they have been, and
 ‘ will be, to overturn all true and thorough Re-
 ‘ formation; and the Reformation in *Scotland*
 ‘ hath not wanted Opposition in their own Na-
 ‘ tion, and Endeavours of Subversion, as well
 ‘ formerly as now lately, by that wicked Army
 ‘ that invaded us: In which Action had they pro-
 ‘ spered, these Commissioners, and their Friends
 ‘ there, might surely have expected the utter ex-
 ‘ tirpating of their Reformation, and all that had
 ‘ pretended to it, although that Army professed al-
 ‘ so for the Covenant. But why the Commis-
 ‘ sioners complain of it to us we understand not,
 ‘ nor are conscious of any Guilt in opposing Re-
 ‘ formation; but trust that God will carry on his
 ‘ own Work of a perfect and thorough Refor-
 ‘ mation, according to his own Will, in his own
 ‘ Way, against all the Endeavours and Opposi-
 ‘ tions of any Profaneness or Formality whatso-
 ‘ ever: And we trust also that God will make us
 ‘ faithful in the Contribution of our utmost Power
 ‘ to that End, as far as he shall reveal his Will un-
 ‘ to us concerning our Duty in it.

‘ *For*

Inter-regnum,
1648.

February.

‘ *For casting off the Ministry* : We have no such
‘ Intention, nor know we any such Thing in fact ;
‘ if any of them find their Audience thinner than
‘ formerly, they may do well to examine, whether
‘ the Cause hath not been chiefly from themselves,
‘ by seeking their own Things, more than the
‘ Things of Christ ; but for those to whom God
‘ hath given Grace to be found faithful in the Work
‘ of the Gospel, and continue so, we know not any
‘ such, who want either due Honour and Respect,
‘ or competent Maintenance amongst us : And as
‘ we are resolved, for our Parts, during the Time
‘ of our Trust, so we are confident it will be the
‘ Care of those that shall succeed us in the Legis-
‘ lative Power of this Nation, that very comfortable
‘ Subsistence shall be provided for all such, in what
‘ Way soever it shall be settled, for the most quiet
‘ and best Contentment both of such Minister and
‘ People.

‘ *For the Toleration of all Religions and Forms of
‘ Worship*, that their Letter objects ; we know not
‘ whom they intend in that Charge : As for the
‘ Truth and Power of Religion, it being a Thing
‘ intrinsical between God and the Soul, and the
‘ Matters of Faith in the Gospel being such, as no
‘ natural Light doth reach unto, we conceive there
‘ is no human Power of Coertion thereunto, nor to
‘ restrain Men from believing what God suffers
‘ their Judgments to be persuaded of ; but if they
‘ mean only the outward and public Forms of Pro-
‘ fession or Worship, we know no such universal
‘ Toleration endeavoured or intended amongst us,
‘ neither yet do we find any Warrant to persecute
‘ all that do not worship God, or profess to believe
‘ in the same Form that we do.

‘ Neither do we conceive *that this were to de-
‘ stroy the Cause, in which we have been engaged.*
‘ The main Cause in which we have been engaged
‘ hath been, the Vindication of the Freedom and
‘ Liberties of the Nation from Tyranny and Slave-
‘ ry ; which, we hope, by the Blessing of God,
‘ will

24 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

' will be effected; and without this (being the
' Foundation of all the other Superstructures) it
' were in vain to please ourselves with Apprehen-
' sions of that Reformation and those Formalities,
' which would be in the Power of an unsubdued
' Tyrant to abolish, whensoever it should be found
' inconsistent with his other Designs. But a free
' Condition of a just Liberty being once settled in
' the Nation, it will be then capable of receiving all
' the Additions of a *bene esse* either in civil Things,
' or those of Religion: *As for frustrating the Ends of*
' *the Covenant, with private or sinister Ends any*
' *may have had therein* (which perhaps they may
' fear will be frustrated) we know not; but, as to
' any public visible Ends of it, nothing hath passed
' from us to the Frustration thereof; we wish we
' could say so of the late Parliament of Scotland, or
' of Commissioners that have been sent from them;
' or that there had been less Swearing, and more
' Performance, toward all honest and godly Ends.
' And if, upon such a complex Engagement to se-
' veral Things (which may not always be consistent)
' any Actions which may bear a Colour of Failure,
' as to one or other Particular have been necessi-
' tated to be undertaken, for the preserving of the
' higher and more principal Ends engaged; we
' hope such Things, which some are apt to render
' as Breach of Covenant, and tending to frustrate
' the Ends of it, will yet, before God and good
' Men, be found the most real Performance and
' fulfilling thereof.

' And thus we might leave their Fears, expres-
' sed in the Remainder of this Paragraph, to abate
' together with their promised Grounds, which we
' have severally answered: But that these Things
' enumerated (tho' they were as true and foul as
' they are represented) should alone be the Matter
' of such Fears, as thence they infer, we cannot al-
' together agree. We must acknowledge there are
' many other Things that have been, and are, *Mat-*
' *ter of high Provocation to the Wrath of God, and*
' whereby

‘ *whereby Dishonour hath been done to his Name, and*
 ‘ *Reproach brought upon Religion; and we do much*
 ‘ rejoice to see any tender Heart so really sensible
 ‘ of his own Fault or Failing, as to stir him up to
 ‘ the most effectual Endeavours after an universal
 ‘ Change and Reformation; and we earnestly de-
 ‘ sire that God will give us all such a Sense and such
 ‘ Effects of it, and that a general Reformation in
 ‘ this Kingdom may be rather the genuine and na-
 ‘ tural Result of our changed Minds, drawing near
 ‘ to God, than the external Dress of an imposing
 ‘ Law.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ If there be such *Division as to weaken us*, we
 ‘ hope the Cause shall not be on our Parts; how
 ‘ any of the Bands of Union between us and *Scot-*
 ‘ *land* have been broken, we are well able to give
 ‘ the World an Account; and this Nation is very
 ‘ sensible how much we suffered to have prevented
 ‘ it.

‘ If we understood how any Thing we are about,
 ‘ should *invite foreign Enemies against us*, we should
 ‘ do our best to avoid it: We are at present in
 ‘ League with all our transmarine Neighbours, and
 ‘ shall endeavour to deal justly with them accord-
 ‘ ing to our Treaties, and to keep the Articles of
 ‘ our several Alliances; and we hope they will not
 ‘ espouse a Quarrel foreign to them, to the Inter-
 ‘ ruption of mutual Commerce with us, wherein
 ‘ they are more concerned.

‘ For the *promoting of the Popish Interest, and*
 ‘ *destroying the Reformed Religion, and the Peace*
 ‘ *and Happiness of the Kingdoms*; we know not
 ‘ why such Suggestions came into this Catalogue of
 ‘ ill Consequences, as objected to us, unless, as
 ‘ many of the rest, that the Paper being published,
 ‘ might cast the greater Odium upon our present
 ‘ Transactions: Neither can we understand any
 ‘ other Reasons why *the losing of Ireland* should
 ‘ be thrust in amongst those Consequences: But as
 ‘ to that poor Kingdom, which these Commission-
 ‘ ers would seem so solicitous for, we cannot but
 ‘ be

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February,

‘ be sensible of any Loss there, as ours more immediately, and not theirs: And what Loss or Prejudice hath of late Years been incurred there, hath been chiefly occasioned, either by the failing, or evil Carriage, of the *Scots* Forces, entertained and pretending to serve us there, or else through *Inchequin*’s Revolt; whom the prevailing Faction of those corrupt Members lately amongst us (in whose Behalf these Commissioners are now so zealous) had put into the Capacity of doing us and *English* Protestants there so much Mischief; yet we hope God will carry us on in such Counsels and Ways, whereby those Losses may be recovered, and that miserable Country timely relieved, notwithstanding the Interruption given by these Papers, and the Discontents thereby endeavoured to be raised to the Hinderance of that Service.

‘ To the third Paragraph, which contains what the Kingdom of *Scotland* hath done for this Kingdom, and what they have undertaken, we say, Whatever the Well-affected in *Scotland* did, in their brother-like Affection to this Nation, when our Pressures were heaviest upon us, we shall not forget: We deny not their first coming into *England* was an Occasion of the calling of this Parliament; and we were not unthankful to them for what they then did; but, out of a brotherly Acknowledgment of the Benefit, gave them for their brotherly Assistance 300,000*l*. We desire also the Commissioners may remember, that the last Parliament before this suffered itself to be broken up, without any visible Hopes of ever seeing another, rather than contribute Monies to the King, when they saw it would have been employed to the oppressing and ruining of the *Scots* Nation: And, long before this, tho’ we should forget it, the People of *Scotland* have left it upon Record, with much Gratitude and Truth, that, under God, they were delivered by the Forces of this Nation, in the very Infancy of their Reformation

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

mation, from the *French* and therewith the Popish Yoke, which nothing, under God, then hinder'd from putting on, but that seasonable and effectual Assistance they received from hence. We know also they cannot forget so soon, that we have not been wanting to our Friends in *Scotland*, who now have the governing Power there, when they were brought low by the Power of the Army; which, by Order of the Parliament of *Scotland*, invaded this Nation, to the Breach of all Leagues and Treaties between us: And when that Army, by the just Hand of God against them, were destroyed; and that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, in pursuance of that Victory, with our Forces, marched to the Borders for the Recovery of the Towns treacherously taken from us, he entered not *Scotland* in Hostility, and without Discrimination, to retaliate the Injuries and Spoil this Nation suffered from that invading Army; but came to the Assistance of the Well-affected there, upon their Desire; and we, out of a Sense of the Oppression of our Friends, before we had heard either from him or them, gave Order that, upon their Desire, he should afford them all seasonable Relief and Assistance; and accordingly such of our Forces were left there, as those our Friends judged necessary, for the finishing their Work, and settling their Security against those who had oppressed them and invaded us, and forthwith marched the rest out of that Kingdom that they might not be a further Charge and Burthen thereto. So as, we trust, we have given sufficient Demonstration, that we have not, for that national Invasion, deserted our Friends and the honest Party in that Nation; but assisted and stood by them, and given them our best Help to put Affairs again into their Hands.

For the Epitome of the Covenant, that is the Matter of the rest of this Paragraph, we conceive there is little Reason for them to object the breaking thereof unto us, being wholly broken, and all Treaties with it, by that national Invasion; which

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

which had not God almost miraculously blasted and brought to nought, all the Particulars they have enumerated had been buried in the Overflowings of Tyranny and Profaneness; only because *the dividing the King from his People* is one Particular urged, we would have it remembered who protested against the King's passing four Bills at the Isle of *Wight*, about the End of *December*, 1647; which should have been the Assurance of a following Treaty; not only usurping therein a Negative Voice upon the Legislative Power of *England*, but being thereby the visible Cause of not proceeding then to a Treaty; and whether this was not more truly a Means of dividing the King from the People, we leave to the Judgment of all Men.

As for *preserving Peace and Union between the Nations*; we wish they would have let this pass; for we blush to repeat so often that it was broken by that national Act, we being invaded by their Army, set out by the Authority of their Parliament. And to this Particular we shall add thus much more, That we were so tender of keeping the Treaties, and so desirous of maintaining the Union that was by them begun between the two Nations, that although we knew well by what Spirit the Affairs of *Scotland* were then acted, and what Affection they who were in Power had to Peace; and were not ignorant that a War was determined, and Forces levied against us early last Spring; and that many of our own Delinquents and Malignants did daily flock into *Scotland*, and were entertained there, and would not be delivered to Punishment, though required according to the express Terms of the Treaty, by our Commissioners there resident, by our special Order to them for that Purpose; yet we forbore not only to put Garrisons into the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, because it seemed against the Great Treaty; but did not so much as bring any to the Borders, (as we might have done, and laid them at such Distance as might have prevented the Sur-
prize

prize of those Towns) because we would not give Alarm to that Nation, or cause any Apprehension in our Friends there, that we had any Intentions of Hostility against them; but we rather chose to have a Breach made upon us, than to make it; and to have our Towns taken from us, which we foresaw was like to happen, rather than to do any Thing that might be interpreted, to tend to a Breach of Union, or of the Treaties: And we repent not our Tenderneſs therein, tho' we are not insensible of what we suffered by it, God having owned our Cause, and borne witness to our Desire of Peace, by stretching out his Hand upon that Hypocritical and Faith-breaking Army, and their Adherents, and by reducing them to a Necessity of ordering the Restitution of our Towns.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February,

In the fourth Paragraph, they say what the Houses and their Nation have declared; and here again *reckon up Reformation of Religion, Extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, and Suppression of Heresy and Schism*; and to this we still say, We shall endeavour, with all that Power that God hath given us, that Religion may be reformed according to the Word of God, which is the Rule of Truth, and that which is so reformed according to the best Reformed Churches; for the very Rule of their Reformation is also the Scriptures, to which what Church soever draws most near in its Reformation, that is the best reformed Church. And if we should acknowledge any one Church to be so well reformed, as it might obtrude its Reformation for a Pattern, which others might necessarily follow, though its Conformity to that supreme Rule be not evident to those upon whom such Uniformity is obtruded, it were justly to be accounted a Part of that Popery which we have declared to extirpate.

For *Prelacy*; we know not why that is in the Paper, we conceiving that all their Jurisdiction is taken away, and a great Part of their Lands sold; and they know very well to what Purpose

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ pose a great Part of the Money was employed ;
 ‘ and we wish them and all Covenanters, as to this
 ‘ Point, to consider whether what they so complain
 ‘ of, in behalf of seclused Members, were not done
 ‘ in reference to their endeavoured Conjunction
 ‘ with the King, on such Terms as would have left
 ‘ to Prelacy a remaining Root and Foundation in
 ‘ this Nation.

‘ By *Popery* we conceive they mean Popish Doc-
 ‘ trine or Worship, for the Jurisdiction of it, they
 ‘ know, hath been long extirpated out of this Na-
 ‘ tion ; and, for that Doctrine or Worship, we
 ‘ give it no Allowance of public or private Teach-
 ‘ ing or Practice: And as it is a Matter of Opinion
 ‘ in the Minds of particular Men, we have found
 ‘ that all the Sharpness of our Laws, which have
 ‘ been sufficiently severe against them, hath not
 ‘ been able to extirpate it ; and, as these the Com-
 ‘ missioners well know, all that hath been done in
 ‘ *Scotland* against Popery, in pursuance of their Co-
 ‘ venant, hath not yet wrought such Effects, but
 ‘ that many of that Profession are still living among
 ‘ them : And, indeed, that some Tares, both of
 ‘ evil Men and Misworshippers, will be left in the
 ‘ Field of the World till the Harvest, notwith-
 ‘ standing the good Seed sown by the Master, and
 ‘ all the Care of the Servants, we find it not barely
 ‘ foretold, but the violent plucking of them up for-
 ‘ bidden, and a plain Injunction added, *That both*
 ‘ *should be let grow together untill Harvest* ; which
 ‘ certainly were intended as Rules to the Servants,
 ‘ at least, in relation to such Weeds and to such
 ‘ Ways of plucking up, where there might be
 ‘ Danger with the Weeds to pluck up the Wheat
 ‘ also : And therefore, as to *Heresy, Schism, &c.*
 ‘ first we must desire all Men to take Notice, that
 ‘ the Covenant doth not engage absolutely that we
 ‘ will extirpate or suppress, as these Commissioners
 ‘ render it (which were an high Presumption) ;
 ‘ but that we will endeavour it, in our several
 ‘ Places and Callings, and by all lawful Ways and
 ‘ Means ; which certainly is to be understood,
 ‘ that

‘ that, to the several Things to be endeavoured,
 ‘ such Ways and Means should be used as, accord-
 ‘ ing to the Nature of the Things severally, are
 ‘ proper and lawful: And, next, we declare that
 ‘ the best Way for the Extirpation and Suppres-
 ‘ sion of Heresy and Schism, as we conceive, is,
 ‘ to hold forth the Truth in Love; which, so held
 ‘ out, will beget Love, and thereby gain the bet-
 ‘ ter Reception in them that hear it. And it shall
 ‘ be our Care to provide for those who may so hold
 ‘ it out, and then wait for an effectual Blessing from
 ‘ God upon those Means.

Inter-regnum,
 1648.

February.

‘ To what they tell us of our declaring, *That*
 ‘ *we will maintain the Fundamental Government of*
 ‘ *this Kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons;* we
 ‘ desire to know what Interest Scotland hath in the
 ‘ Government of *England*, that there should be
 ‘ any Interposition in it. What Government the
 ‘ People of *England* shall chuse, we know none
 ‘ that have any Negative upon it: The Legislative
 ‘ Power being in them originally and fundamen-
 ‘ tally, and exercised by those that represent them,
 ‘ what Laws they declare or enact they have Power
 ‘ also to annul and repeal when they shall judge it
 ‘ to be no longer for the Good and Safety of the
 ‘ People, which is the highest Law, to which all
 ‘ other Laws and Declarations must submit; and
 ‘ there can be no foreign Judgment of that Safety.

‘ To that they say in this Letter, *That, by Con-*
 ‘ *sent of both Kingdoms, the King was to come to*
 ‘ *Holdenby;* and to that in their second Letter,
 ‘ *That it will be a great Grief to their Hearts, and*
 ‘ *lie heavy upon their Spirits, to see their trusting*
 ‘ *of his Person to the Parliament of England made*
 ‘ *use of to his Ruin,* it hath been so fully cleared in
 ‘ the aforesaid Declaration of this House of the
 ‘ 28th of November, 1646, that the Kingdom
 ‘ of Scotland had no Right of disposing of the Per-
 ‘ son of the King in *England*, as that we shall add
 ‘ nothing to it: We shall only say, That they did
 ‘ not trust the King with the Parliament of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land;* for he was not at all in the Power of the
 ‘ King-

32 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ Kingdom of Scotland, for he was not then in
‘ Scotland; neither was the Army of Scots in Eng-
‘ land, the Kingdom of Scotland, nor the Army of
‘ Scotland: It was indeed an Army of the Scots
‘ Nation; but it was the Army of England in their
‘ Service, and in their Pay; and to whom should
‘ they deliver the King of England, coming into
‘ their Power in England, while they were in the
‘ Service and Pay of England, but to the Parlia-
‘ ment of England?

‘ Besides, how can they affirm *the common Enemy*
‘ *was subdued*, as in the next Words before, if he
‘ was then in an Army, that had Right to defend
‘ him still against this Parliament, and not deliver
‘ him up at their Commands? What other com-
‘ mon Enemy was it, who made all that War against
‘ this Nation, was it not he? And was it not by
‘ his Commissions and Commands? And how was
‘ he then subdued, if the Army, consisting of the
‘ Scots Nation in the Pay of England, might have
‘ defended him, and fought for him? And if they
‘ thought they might refuse to deliver him, why did
‘ not that Army carry him with them into Scotland?
‘ Was it because they knew they had no Authority
‘ so to do, or because they knew or feared his Pre-
‘ sence and the Peace of that Place, wherever he
‘ should come, would be incompatible?

‘ To what they say, *That this Parliament did*
‘ *then declare that Respect should be had to the Safety*
‘ *and Preservation of his Person, in the Preserva-*
‘ *tion and Defence of the true Religion and Liber-*
‘ *ties of the Kingdom; and that they would join to*
‘ *procure his Assent to the Propositions, &c. And in*
‘ *case the King should not assent, yet they will still*
‘ *maintain the Union between the two Kingdoms, ac-*
‘ *cording to the Covenant and Treaties; we say,*
‘ that meeting with these Things so often repeated,
‘ they force us again to ask, Who broke the Union?
‘ Was it according to the Treaty and Covenant
‘ to invade England with an Army, and that by
‘ the Authority of the Parliament of Scotland? Or
‘ can they think that we were bound and they at
‘ Liberty

Liberty to keep it, or require it to be kept, as far only as it should serve the Interest of *Scotland*?

And for *joining to procure the King's Assent to Propositions*; whereas it was then desired but for once more, hath it not since been fulfilled many Times over on the Part of the Parliament of *England*? Were not the Propositions, agreed to by their Commissioners, sent since that Time unto the King at *Hampton-Court*, and again refused by him? And was there not afterwards an Address made to him, at the Isle of *Wight*, with four Bills, concerning only three of those many Things contained in the large Propositions, with an essential Precaution in order to Treaty, viz. *That the Parliament might adjourn itself to such Place as they should find most convenient and safe*, and an Offer to treat with him for the rest of the Things contained in the Propositions? And did not, as we said before, the Commissioners of *Scotland* then and there protest against these Overtures (Oh that!) in Behalf of the King, and for his Interest, against the Judgment, not only of the Parliament of *England*, but against what was the Judgment of the Kingdom of *Scotland* also, in their former Addresses with us, wherein the same Things, for the main, were insisted on with many more? But if *Scotland* had never join'd to insist on any of those four Things, yet, since they concerned the Security of this Nation, was not the Parliament of *England* competent to demand of him Things of that Nature, without the Allowance of the *Scots* Commissioners? Have we at any Time interposed to hinder them in any of their Addresses for Things concerning *Scotland*? Have we not left it wholly to themselves, to pitch upon what Demands they thought necessary for that Kingdom, and been ready to assist and join with them, whenever they have desired us, to further the procuring of them?

As to the Matter of *Respect to be had to the Safety of his Person, in Defence of the true Religion and Liberties*; can any Man understand

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

34 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

those Words not to intend some Limitation of that Respect? And, understanding them so, (to say nothing of the Inconsistency of that Respect with the Security of true Religion, wherein themselves say, in their second Letter, *his latest and largest Concessions were so unsatisfactory*) we answer; as to our Liberties, there hath since then been a second War, raised by him against this Nation, wherein the Power of *Scotland* assisted; which, if God had not mightily assisted us, had for ever ruined our Liberties: And should there still have been a Respect had to the Preservation of his Person, who was restless and endless in his Endeavours and Designs for the Destruction of the Liberties and Happiness of this Nation? Put the Case he had gotten into the Head of some one of those several Armies, by his Influence raised the last Summer to disturb our Peace, and destroy our Liberties, must we have given them Leave to shoot Bullet, and return them only Powder, lest we should perhaps hurt his Person?

As to the Declarations of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which the last Part of the fourth Paragraph of their Letter mentions; as we are no Parties thereto, so we have no more to say to it, save that we must and shall ever disavow any Authority or Colour of Right in them, to determine or declare the Succession of the King's Posterity to the Government of this Nation; nor do we know any Authority they have to declare or determine any such Thing concerning any other Kingdom than their own.

In the last Paragraph of their Letter of *January* 6th, we have the Epitome of their whole large Letter, and a Profession of their Opinion what is their Duty to endeavour. To that Part which concerns Religion; we have before declar'd our Opinion, as we have also to what is the Power of this Nation in the Fundamentals of Government: And if *Scotland* hath not the same Power or Liberty, as we do not go about to confine them to us, so we shall not limit ourselves to them;

' them ; but, leaving them to act in relation to
 ' theirs as they shall see Cause, resolve to maintain
 ' our own Liberties, as God shall enable us : And
 ' as we are far from any Thought of imposing
 ' upon them, so we shall not willingly suffer Im-
 ' positions from them, while God gives us Strength
 ' or Lives to oppose : And therefore, both to this
 ' Paragraph of their first, and to their whole
 ' second Letter, we shortly make this Answer,
 ' That after a long and serious Deliberation of our
 ' own intrinsical Power and Trust, derived to us,
 ' by the Providence of God, through the Delega-
 ' tion of the People ; and upon like Consideration
 ' of what we and this Nation have suffered from
 ' the Misgovernment and Tyranny of that King,
 ' both in Peace and by the Wars ; and consider-
 ' ing how fruitless, and how full of Danger and
 ' Prejudice, the many Addresses to him for Peace
 ' have been ; and being conscious how much we
 ' have provok'd and tempted God by the Neglect
 ' of impartial Execution of Justice, in relation to
 ' the innocent Blood spilt and Mischief done in
 ' the late Wars ; we have proceeded to such a
 ' Course of Justice against that Man of Blood, as
 ' we doubt not, the just God, who is no Respector
 ' of Persons, doth approve and will follow with his
 ' Blessing upon this Nation ; and though, perhaps,
 ' we may meet with many Difficulties before our
 ' Liberties and Peace be settled, yet we hope we
 ' shall be preserved from Confusion, by the Good-
 ' will of him that dwelt in the Bush, which burnt
 ' and was not consumed ; and the Course we have
 ' taken with the late King, and mean to follow
 ' towards others, (the Capital Enemies of our
 ' Peace) is, we hope, that which will be for the
 ' Good and Happiness of both Nations ; which
 ' if that of *Scotland* should think fit to make Use
 ' of, and vindicate their own Liberty and Freedom,
 ' which lies before them if they give it not away,
 ' we shall be ready to give them all friendly and
 ' neighbourly Assistance in the establishing thereof ;
 ' and desire they would take it into their most serious

Inter-regnum;
1648.

February.

36 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1643.

February.

‘ Consideration, before they espouse that Quarrel,
‘ which can bring them no other Advantage, than
‘ the entailing upon them and their Posterities a
‘ lasting War, with all the Miseries that attend it,
‘ and Slavery unto a Tyrant in the Issue.’

The Commons
order two Seals
to be made for
the Use of the
Council of State;

The same Day that the Commons pass'd the foregoing Declaration, they ordered that the Council of State should prepare two Seals, a greater and a less, for their Use; each of them to have engraved thereon the Arms of *England and Ireland*, with this Inscription, *The Seal of the Council of State, appointed by the Parliament of England*. Ordered, also, That *Whitehall* be prepared for this Council to meet in.

And settle new
Forms of Writs,
Oaths, &c.

The Commons continuing to apply themselves, with great Assiduity, to the constituting of their new Commonwealth, much Time was employed in settling the Forms of Writs, Oaths, &c. Copies of which are enter'd in the *Journals*. The main Alterations were the substituting, instead of the *King's Name*, these Words, *The Keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament*. And indeed the House were so taken up with settling their new Plan of Government, that very little Matter of any other Kind now occurs in their *Journals*.

An Engagement
to be taken by
that Council.

A Form of an Engagement having been drawn up, for the Members of the Council of State to sign before they acted in that Commission, whereby they were required to declare ‘ That they approved of
‘ what the House of Commons and the High
‘ Court of Justice had done against the King; also
‘ of their abolishing of Kingly Government and
‘ the House of Peers; and that the Legislative and
‘ Supreme Power was wholly in the House of Com-
‘ mons,’ on the 19th of this Month Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* reported to the House, ‘ That several Members met on *Saturday Night* last, where thirteen of them subscribed that Engagement; and, upon their Subscription, did no other Act but order

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

order the rest of the Members to be summoned to be there that Morning; where others also subscribed, in all to the Number of nineteen, viz. the Lord Grey of Groby, Sir John D'Anvers, Col. Henry Martin, Mr. Heveningham, Col. Ludlow, Col. William Perfoy, Sir William Constable, Mr. Stapelley, Mr. Holland, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Scot, Colonel Wauton, Mr. Lisse, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Jones, Alderman Pennington, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Wallop, and himself. He also reported, That this Day the Lords who were named of that Council gave in the following Answers, as to their subscribing this Engagement, viz.

The Earl of Denbigh said, 'He took it as a great Honour to be named by the House of Commons for this Service: That he hath formerly had the Honour to be employed, by the late King to the State of Venice and other States, and serv'd therein faithfully: That he was since employed, by both Houses, in Arms, and was also faithful in that: That now there is no other Power in England but that of the House of Commons, in whom the Liberty and Freedom of the People is so involv'd, he is resolved to live and die with them; and doth acknowledge them the Supreme Power of this Nation; and that what Government they shall set up and appoint he will faithfully serve, to the best of his Power, with his Life and Fortune: But that, in this Engagement, there are some Particulars that look backward, which he conceives he cannot, with Honour, subscribe; as being contrary to what he then acted as a Peer in the House of Lords, then acknowledged a third Estate of this Kingdom, and to which he was subordinate as a Member of that House, by a particular Relation of Duty and Obedience: But faith, as before, that he will for the future serve them with the best of his Power.'

The same Answers, as to the general Matter, were given by the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Mulgrave, as also by the Lord-General Fairfax; only the Lord Grey of Warke said, 'That he was always willing to do Service in any Thing which he

38 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

was commanded by both Houses; but this coming only from one House, he desired to be excused.^a

Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* having also reported the Names of some other Persons, nominated to be of the Council of State, as were not satisfied to subscribe the said Engagement^b, after ordering Candles to be brought into the House, it was resolved, That no Member do go forth without Leave. And then the Question being propounded, That it be referred to all the Persons nominated to be of the Council of State, except the Lord *Grey of Warke*, to confer among themselves upon the Matter had in Debate in the House this Day, touching the Engagement, and to report their Opinions what they conceive fit to be further done therein, it passed in the Affirmative by 45 against 22. Accordingly three Days after General *Cromwell* reported the following Form, agreed on by way of Expedient, which was approved by the House^c.

The Form thereof.

I A. B. being nominated a Member of the Council of State by this present Parliament, do testify that I do adhere to this present Parliament, in the Maintenance and Defence of the Public Liberty and Freedom of this Nation, as it is now declared by this Parliament, (by whose Authority I am constituted a Member of the said Council) and in the Maintenance and Defence of their Resolutions concerning the settling of the Government of this Nation for the future

^a The Lord *Fairfax* (who, with Col. *Rich*, on the 17th of this Month, had been declared duly elected Members for *Cirencester*, after the Return had lain above two Years dormant) desired to be excused subscribing his Approbation of what was past: But he and the rest of the Refusers affirm'd, That for the future, if the Parliament thought them worthy to be employed, they would join with them.

Mr. *Whitlocke* scrupled that Part of approving the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, because he was not privy to them, nor did know what they were in particular, nor ever did hear any Report of them made to the House; and, not knowing what they were, he could not sign that Paper to approve of them. The like was said by divers others.

Memorials, p. 377.

^c The Resolution of the House, of February 22, concerning this Engagement, is erased in the *Commons Journals* by an Order of March 13, 1659. The Copy of it here given is supplied from *Walton's History of Independency*, p. 130.

future, in way of a Republic, without King or House of Peers; and I do promise in the Sight of God, that, through his Grace, I will be faithful in the Performance of the Trust committed to me as aforesaid, and therein faithfully pursue the Instructions given to the said Council by this present Parliament; and not reveal or disclose any Thing, in Whole or in Part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon in the Council, without the Command or Direction of the Parliament, or without the Order or Allowance of the major Part of the Council, or of the major Part of them that shall be present at such Debates or Resolutions. In Confirmation of the Promises I have hereto subscribed my Name.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

Feb. 20. The next material Business reported to the House from this Council, was, That it was their Opinion the Ordinance for constituting the Earl of *Warwick* Lord-High-Admiral of *England*, should be repealed. The House agreed to this, and ordered an Act to be brought in for that Purpose; and that the Council of State should have and execute all such Power and Authority, as any Lord-Admiral or Commissioners of the Admiralty have had, or ought to have had, and exercised. Provided, That the said Council should take Care that, by the repealing of the Power of the Lord-Admiral, no Prejudice might come to the Commonwealth. Several more Acts were ordered in for the Encouragement of Officers, Mariners, and impress'd Seamen, and other Regulations in the Navy, in this and the next Day's Proceedings. And soon after Col. *Edward Popham*, Col. *Richard Dean*, and Col. *Robert Blake*, were appointed by the Parliament to command the Fleet, with an Appointment of 9 l. per Diem, to be equally divided amongst them.

The Earl of Warwick removed from the Office of Lord High Admiral.

The Prince Elector *Palatine* having taken Leave of the Parliament, they ordered the Arrears of his Allowance of 8000 l. per Annum (being 6500 l.) to be forthwith paid him. On the 20th his Highness went

The Prince Elector and Dutch Ambassador Extraordinary return home.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

went by Water to *Gravesend*, and embark'd for *Holland* on his Return home, under Convoy of a Man of War appointed by the House for that Purpose; as did also the Lord *Paw*, Ambassador Extraordinary from the *States General*, on the 23d.

Several Days now pass'd without any remarkable Article entered in the *Journals*; except that the House, in order to a little Relaxation from Attendance on the public Business of the Nation, agreed to sit only on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays* in every Week, but Committees every Day.

It has been already observed, that the Parliament of *Scotland* had proclaimed Prince *Charles* for their King, and sent a Deputation to inform him of it; and that the House had since published their Answer to the *Scots* Commissioners Letters presented in *January* last. On the 24th of this Month those Commissioners sent another Paper, subscribed by them all, and directed to the Speaker; which is not given us in the *Journals*, nor do we find a Copy of it in any Contemporary Writer: Mr. *Whitlocke*, indeed, tells us, 'That the Speaker acquainted the House this Day with a Letter the *Scots* Commissioners sent him, at their going away, which was without taking Leave.' And adds, 'It was full of Bitterness against the Parliament and their late Proceedings against the King, the House of Lords, and the secluded Members: But gives no Particulars thereof. This Deficiency is luckily supplied by a printed Copy of the original Letter at large, lately fallen into our Hands, *in hæc Verba* ^a.

February 24, 1648.

A Remonstrance presented by the *Scots* Commissioners in London, to the Parliament, against their late Proceedings;

IN the Year 1642, and afterwards in the Year 1643, when the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Party did grow prevalent in this Kingdom, the Honourable Houses of Parliament did communicate several Declarations and Papers to the Kingdom of *Scotland*^c, thereby to inform their
'Judg-

^a Printed for Matthew Simmons, in *Aldersgate-street*.

^c Declaration and Account to all the World, *August*, 1642.

‘ Judgments of the State of the Differences here,
‘ and to gain their Assistance, and invite their Forces
‘ to come into this Kingdom; in which Declara-
‘ tions and other Papers they affirm and declare,

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ *That the Army of the Houses of Parliament*
‘ *was raised for Maintenance of the true Religion,*
‘ *the King's Person, Honour, and Estate, Privileges*
‘ *of Parliament, Rights and Liberties of Subjects,*
‘ *and for the Prevention of the Alteration of Re-*
‘ *ligion: That their Enemies Design was to corrupt*
‘ *and alter Religion throughout the whole Island;*
‘ *that they begun with Scotland, knowing well that the*
‘ *same Fate attended both Kingdoms: That they have*
‘ *only inverted the Manner of their Proceedings, con-*
‘ *ceiving it an easier Way to destroy them, if they may*
‘ *first prevail over the Parliament and Kingdom of*
‘ *England: That whensoever Religion is subverted*
‘ *or changed in one Kingdom, it will be easily accom-*
‘ *plished in the other; Religion being the Band and*
‘ *Foundation of the Happiness of both: That what*
‘ *Corruptions take Root in England, will quickly*
‘ *spread their Venom and Infection to their Neigh-*
‘ *bour Church of Scotland.*^b

‘ They declare the true State of the Quarrel to
‘ be Religion; in Reformation whereof they are
‘ so forward and zealous, as there is nothing ex-
‘ pressed in *Scotland's* former or later Declarations,
‘ which they have not seriously endeavoured to ef-
‘ fect.

‘ They earnestly intreat the General Assembly
‘ to further and expedite the Assistance desired by
‘ both Houses from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, up-
‘ on this Ground and Motive, *That thereby they*
‘ *shall do great Service to God, and great Honour*
‘ *may redound to themselves in becoming the Instru-*
‘ *ments of a glorious Reformation, not only through-*
‘ *out this Island, but from thence possibly to be spread*
‘ *to other Churches, oppressed under the Antichristian*
‘ *Bondage and Tyranny of the Popish and Prelatical*
‘ *Faction.*^c

‘ They

^b *English Commissioners, August, 1643.*

^c Declaration. Sept. 1642, in Answer to the *Scots* Declaration.

42 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ They commend the Prudence and Faithfulness
‘ of the General Assembly of the Church of Scot-
‘ land, in propounding those Things which may con-
‘ duce to a more close and firm Union of the two
‘ Churches and Nations of England and Scotland ;
‘ in preserving and maintaining the Truth and Pu-
‘ rity of the Reformed Religion, not only against
‘ Popery, but all Superstitions, Sects, and Innova-
‘ tions whatsoever ; and declare, That the Houses
‘ of Parliament have ever made the Reformation of
‘ Church Government and Discipline their chiefest
‘ Aim, though they have been frequently interrupted,
‘ and powerfully oppos’d, in the Prosecution and Accom-
‘ plishment of it ; and however they continue still in
‘ their Storm and Conflict, yet they take the Peace, Li-
‘ berty, and Preservation which God hath afforded
‘ Scotland, as a Pledge of the like Mercy intended
‘ to them, in his good Time ; hoping that God will
‘ perfect their Designs and Endeavours of a full
‘ Reformation in all Things pertaining to Religion :
‘ They profess their earnest Desires for Unity of Re-
‘ ligion, in all substantial Parts of Doctrin, Wor-
‘ ship, and Discipline, that both Kingdoms might be
‘ more strictly united, and enjoy the Advantages of
‘ his Majesty’s more easy, safe, and comfortable Go-
‘ vernment ; the People a more free Communion in
‘ all holy Exercises and Duties of Worship ; and that
‘ there might be a more constant Security of Religion,
‘ against the bloody Practices of Papists, and deceitful
‘ Errors of Sectaries. They remonstrate, ^d That
‘ it is far from their Purpose or Desire to let loose
‘ the golden Reins of Discipline, and Government of
‘ the Church ; to leave private Persons, or particu-
‘ lar Congregations, to take up what Form of Divine
‘ Service they please ; but do hold it requisite that
‘ there should be, throughout the whole Realm, a
‘ Conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoin,
‘ according to the Word of God. They protest, in
‘ the Presence of the All-seeing Deity, ^e That the
‘ Services which they have been desirous to perform
to

^d Remonstrance in December, 1641.

^e May, 1642.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

‘ to their Sovereign Lord and King, and to his Church
 ‘ and State, in providing for the Public Peace, Pro-
 ‘ sperity of his Majesty and all his Realms, to have
 ‘ been, and still to be, the only End of all their
 ‘ Counsels and Endeavours; wherein they have re-
 ‘ solved to continue freed and enlarged from all pri-
 ‘ vate Aims, personal Respects, or Passions whatso-
 ‘ ever. They oft mention the Protestation taken
 ‘ by every Member of both Houses, promising, in
 ‘ the Presence of Almighty God, to defend his Ma-
 ‘ jesty; and disclaim the having any Purpose to offer
 ‘ the least Violence to his Person, which hath and
 ‘ ever shall be dear unto them. They declare^f,
 ‘ That they expect the Help and Assistance of Scot-
 ‘ land, in Defence of the Cause; which, if the Po-
 ‘ pish Party prevail, must needs either involve them
 ‘ in that Alteration of Religion, which will be made
 ‘ here, or engage them in a War against this King-
 ‘ dom, to defend their own Religion and Liberty;
 ‘ and they profess, before the ever-living God^g, the
 ‘ Safety of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in this
 ‘ and all other his Majesty’s Dominions, to be the
 ‘ chief End of all their Counsels and Resolutions with-
 ‘ out any Intention or Desire to hurt or injure his
 ‘ Majesty, either in his Person, or in his just Power:
 ‘ That they rest assured, both God and Man will ab-
 ‘ hor and abominate that monstrous and injurious
 ‘ Charge, laid upon the Representative Body of this
 ‘ Kingdom, of designing the Ruin, not only of his
 ‘ Majesty’s Person, but of Monarchy itself; and
 ‘ appeal to all the World, whether worse Words
 ‘ than these can be given them.

‘ These Declarations and solemn Engagements
 ‘ were communicated to the Kingdom of Scotland,
 ‘ before they did join in the War with the Houses
 ‘ of Parliament; and also both Kingdoms entered
 ‘ into a Solemn League and Covenant, for Refor-
 ‘ mation and Defence of Religion; for Uniformity in
 ‘ one Confession of Faith, Form of Church Govern-
 ‘ ment,

^f Declaration, October, 1643, in Answer to the King’s, concern-
 ing Keinton Battle.

^g Declaration and Protestation to all the World in 1642.

44 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

ment, Directory for Worship and Catechising; for
Extirpation of Popery, Superstition, Heresy, Schism,
Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found con-
trary to sound Doctrine and the Power of God-
liness; for Preservation of the Rights and Privi-
leges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject;
for the Honour and Happiness of the King and his
Posterity, and the Peace and Safety of these King-
doms.

In the Year 1646, after the Power and Strength
of the Enemy was broken, the House of Com-
mons did, upon the 17th of April, publish a De-
claration, which they likewise caused to be set up
and affixed in every Parish-Church, wherein they
vindicated themselves from several Misconstruc-
tions and Misrepresentations of their Proceedings;
As that they should have any Intention or Desire to
make Use of the great Success God had given them,
contrary to their former Professions; or to exceed
or swerve from their first Aims and Principles, in
the undertaking this War; and to recede from the
Solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties betwixt
the Kingdoms; or to prolong these uncomfortable
Troubles and bleeding Distractions, in order to al-
ter the Fundamental Constitution and Frame of this
Kingdom, and to leave all Government in the
Church loose and unsettled; or themselves to exer-
cise the same arbitrary Power over the Persons and
Estates of the Subjects, which the present Parlia-
ment had thought fit to abolish, by taking away the
Star-Chamber, High-Commission, and other ar-
bitrary Courts, and the exorbitant Power of the
Council-Table. And further they declare, That
their true and real Intentions are, and their En-
deavours shall be, to settle Religion in the Purity
thereof, according to the Covenant; and to main-
tain the antient and Fundamental Constitution and
Government of this Kingdom, by King, Lords, and
Commons.

In November 1647, when a Petition was pre-
sented to the House of Commons, styling them
the Supreme Authority of the Nation, together
with

‘ with a printed Paper annex’d, intitl’d *An Agreement of the People, for a firm and present Peace, upon Grounds of common Right*, (which Agreement, as we have found upon Perusal of both, is the same for Substance with the Agreement lately published) the House of Commons did declare, *That the Matters contained in those Papers were destructive to the Being of Parliaments, and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom*; and appointed a Letter to be written to the General, to examine the Proceeding of that Business in the Army, and to return an Account thereof to the House: And when another Petition, directed *To the Supreme Authority of England, the Commons in Parliament assembled*, was presented the 23d of the same Month, they voted that Petition *a seditious and contemptuous Avowing and Prosecution of the former Petition and Paper annex’d, styl’d An Agreement of the People, formerly adjudged to be destructive to the Being of Parliaments and Fundamental Government*; and another Letter was appointed to be sent to the General, to take Notice of his Proceedings, in the Execution of a mutinous Person (who was an Abetter of that Agreement) at the Rendezvous near *Ware*; and to give him Thanks for it, and desire him to prosecute the Examination of that Business to the Bottom, and to bring such guilty Persons as he shall think fit to condign and exemplary Punishment.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ All which Declarations, Protestations, Oaths, Covenants, and solemn Engagements notwithstanding, we find, to our great Grief, Wonder, and Astonishment, that, contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty is removed out of this Life, by a violent Death: That Orders are published in Print, intitl’d, *Acts of Parliament*, prohibiting the proclaiming of the Prince of *Wales* as King of these Kingdoms: That the Commons, which now sit at *Westminster* (after many Members of that House have been imprison’d, seclud’d by Force,

‘ or

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

‘ or necessitated to withdraw, because they cannot
 ‘ act as in a free Parliament) have voted away the
 ‘ Kingly Office and the House of Lords, and claim
 ‘ the Authority of a Parliament; and, under Co-
 ‘ lour thereof, the Power of repealing all Oaths of
 ‘ Allegiance and Obedience whatsoever; even
 ‘ without Exception of the Solemn League and
 ‘ Covenant, from which the Conscience cannot be
 ‘ absolved by all the Powers on Earth.

‘ We see likewise strong Endeavours used, and
 ‘ Resolutions taken, to maintain a licentious Li-
 ‘ berty and ungodly Toleration, in Matters of Re-
 ‘ ligion, as appears by a Paper lately published,
 ‘ commonly call’d *An Agreement of the People*;
 ‘ against which, upon the 26th of *January* last,
 ‘ we did present a Testimony of the Commissioners
 ‘ of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, approved of by the Estates of the Parliament
 ‘ of that Kingdom.

‘ If the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of
 ‘ *England*, who made the Declarations and En-
 ‘ gagements aforesaid, had been permitted to sit
 ‘ and act with Freedom, we know there would
 ‘ have been no such Proceedings as we have alrea-
 ‘ dy seen, nor Cause to fear such dangerous Evils
 ‘ and strange Alterations as are now carried on by
 ‘ Will and Power. We may confidently say, they
 ‘ would have been more mindful of their many De-
 ‘ clarations and the Solemn League and Covenant,
 ‘ and more ready to hearken to the Advice of their
 ‘ Brethren of *Scotland*. And however no Regard
 ‘ hath been had, by those who rule, to what we
 ‘ have formerly said, and so we have small Hopes
 ‘ that any great Notice shall be taken of what we
 ‘ shall further say; yet, in pursuance of the Instruc-
 ‘ tions we have received from the Parliament of
 ‘ *Scotland*, we hold it our Duty to desire, that
 ‘ there may be no Toleration of Idolatry, Popery,
 ‘ Prelacy, Heresy, Schism, or Profaneness: That
 ‘ there be no Change of the Fundamental Consti-
 ‘ tution and Government of this Kingdom, by
 ‘ King,

‘ King, Lords, and Commons: That there may be
 ‘ nothing done which may wrong King *Charles* the
 ‘ Second in his Succession, as righteous Heir of the
 ‘ Crown of these Kingdoms; but that, by the free
 ‘ Councils of both Houses of Parliament, Refor-
 ‘ mation of, and Uniformity in, Religion may be
 ‘ settled according to the Covenant; and particu-
 ‘ larly that Presbyterian Government, the Confes-
 ‘ sion of Faith, Directory for Worship, and Ca-
 ‘ techism, may be established: That the just Right
 ‘ and Title of King *Charles* the Second to the
 ‘ Crown of these Kingdoms may be acknowledg’d;
 ‘ and, upon just Satisfaction given to both King-
 ‘ doms, he may be received and admitted to the
 ‘ Exercise of his Government; and if, notwith-
 ‘ standing all our earnest Desires and Endeavours
 ‘ to the contrary, the Commons now sitting at
 ‘ *Westminster* shall proceed otherwise in all or in
 ‘ any of the Particulars aforesaid, we do hereby,
 ‘ in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of
 ‘ *Scotland*, dissent from the same; and solemnly
 ‘ protest, That they may be free, before God and
 ‘ Man, of the Guiltiness, Evils, Confusions, Mi-
 ‘ series, and Calamities that may follow thereupon
 ‘ to these distracted Kingdoms.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

LOTHIAN.

JOHN CHIESLEY.

WILL. GLENDINNING.

How highly the Commons were affronted at this Remonstrance sufficiently appears from the following Declaration, pass’d on the 26th of this Month, which they ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

‘ **T**HE Parliament having received a Paper, Which the House
 ‘ dated *February* 24, 1648, subscribed by resolve to be
 ‘ the Earl of *Lothian*, Sir *John Chiesley*, and Mr. scandalous, sedi-
 ‘ *Glendinning*, in the Name of the Kingdom of tious, &c.
 ‘ *Scotland*, and taking the same into their serious
 ‘ Consideration:

‘ They

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

‘ They do declare, That the said Paper doth
 ‘ contain much scandalous and reproachful Matter
 ‘ against the just Proceedings of this Parliament;
 ‘ and an Assuming, on the Behalf of that Kingdom,
 ‘ to have a Power over the Laws and Government
 ‘ of this Nation, to the high Dishonour thereof;
 ‘ and lastly, a Design in the Contrivers and Sub-
 ‘ scribers of it, to raise Sedition and lay the Grounds
 ‘ of a new and bloody War in this Land; that,
 ‘ under the specious Pretences in that Paper con-
 ‘ tained, they may gain Advantages to second their
 ‘ late perfidious Invasion. And

‘ It is further declared, That all Persons what-
 ‘ soever, residing in *England* or *Ireland*, or the Do-
 ‘ minions thereof, that shall join with, or adhere
 ‘ unto, or voluntarily aid or assist, the said Con-
 ‘ trivers and Subscribers, or any whosoever of the
 ‘ Kingdom of *Scotland*, in pursuance of the Grounds
 ‘ by them laid in the said Paper, for raising Sedi-
 ‘ tion and a new and bloody War in this Land, are
 ‘ Rebels and Traitors to the Commonwealth of
 ‘ *England*; and shall be proceeded against as Trai-
 ‘ tors and Rebels.’

HENRY SCOBELL, *Cler. Par.*

And thereupon
 order the Scots
 Commissioners
 to be put under
 an Arrest, &c.

Besides printing and publishing this resentful Declaration, the House ordered, That the Lord *Lothian*, Sir *John Chiesley*, and Mr. *Glendinning*, Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, should have a Guard set upon their Lodging, to secure them from Violence; and also to restrain them from Communication with any by whom the Sedition, contained in their Paper, dated the 24th Instant, might be promulged: And that none be suffered to have Access to them, or to pass out from them, but for their Supply with Necessaries during their Abode here.

It was also ordered, That a Message, with a Duplicate of the foregoing Remonstrance, be forthwith sent to the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, To know whether they do or will own and justify

justify what hath been presented to this Parliament in their Names; the Care whereof was particularly referred to the Council of State.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

The same Day, Feb. 26, the following Petition was presented to the House, and read,

*To the Supreme intrusted Authority of this Nation,
the Commons assembled in Parliament,*

The HUMBLE PETITION of divers of the well-affected Officers and Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax.

WE having seriously weighed and considered the late Votes of this House, in which the People are declared to be the Supreme Power, and from whom all just Authority is derived: The Consideration of this hath emboldened us to make known and discover our own and the Kingdom's Grievances, which cry aloud for Justice to be speedily and impartially executed; without which we cannot chuse but look upon ourselves as a dying and ruined People: All which we apprehend is coming upon us like a Deluge, unless God be pleased to appear for us, in raising up of your Honours to stand for us in the answering of these our just Desires.

A Petition from several Officers and Soldiers, for rendering the Laws into English, abolishing Tythes, &c.

1. 'To make and establish such wholesome Laws, in our native Language, as may preserve the Interest and Liberties of this Commonwealth.

2. 'That all Tythes may be for ever speedily abolished, and no forced Maintenance come in the Place thereof.

3. 'That no Punishment be inflicted upon any Person for the Exercise of his Conscience in Matters of Religion, it being destructive to the Freedom of the Commonwealth. And that all such as are now in Custody for such Matters may forthwith be set at Liberty, and Reparation given them for their unjust Imprisonment.

VOL. XIX.

D

4. 'That

Inter-regnum.

1648.

February.

4. ' That all Committee-men, Excise-men, and
' all other Persons whatsoever that have had to
' deal in the public Treasury of the Nation, may
' speedily be called to an Account, for all Monies re-
' ceived by them; and that, for the Time to come,
' the intolerable Burden of Excise may be wholly
' taken away from this Commonwealth.

5. ' That all Persons, of what Condition or Qua-
' lity soever, may have a just and equal Admini-
' stration of Law, according to the Nature of their
' Actions.

6. ' That a speedy Course be taken for the En-
' largement of all Persons that are imprisoned for
' Debt, and have not wherewithall to satisfy their
' Creditors; and a Course also taken for the ma-
' king such Persons pay their Debts, being able,
' that shelter themselves in a Prison, on purpose to
' defraud their Creditors, by which Means many
' honest People are brought to Ruin.

7. ' That all Persons whatsoever, that are now
' in Prison for pretended Words or Forgeries, may
' be brought to a speedy Trial; and as to those
' whose Innocency shall appear, Reparation may
' be given them for their false Imprisonment.

8. ' That speedy Provision may be made for
' the continual Supply of the Necessities of the
' Poor of this Nation, whose Miseries cry aloud in
' our Ears for Redress.

9. ' That constant Pay may be provided to sup-
' ply the Necessities of the Army, that the Soldiery
' may be enabled to discharge their Quarters; and,
' for the future, prevent that which hath been so
' much complained of, *viz.* Free-quarter.

10. ' That all the Arrears of the Army, and
' the rest of the Soldiery of the Nation (who have
' been in actual Service for the Parliament, and
' continued faithful therein) may be audited; and
' a Course taken for the speedy Payment of them,
' out of the Revenues of the Crown, Deans and
' Chapters Lands.

11. ' That whereas several Soldiers of the Army,
' by their tedious and hard Service last Summer,
' and

‘and since they came to *London*, have lost and spoiled many of their Horses; and, by reason of the Smallness of their Pay, are not able to furnish themselves with any more, Course may be taken for a speedy Supply of our Wants, that we may be enabled to perform that Service that is expected from us.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

February.

12. ‘That whereas we, with many others of the Commonwealth, have been much abused with clipt Money; therefore we desire some Course may be taken for the speedy Prevention thereof.

13. ‘That the Articles of War may now be renewed and mitigated, as being too severe and tyrannous for any Army of free-born *Englishmen*; and that Martial Law may not be so frequently exercised, nor in so cruel a Manner.

14. ‘That the Soldiers may not be put upon the Execution of Civil Orders or Ordinances, as seizing upon unlicensed Books, or Printing Presses; or in distraining for Monies, or the like, untill, in those Cases, the Civil Authority hath been forcibly resisted; that so the People may have no Cause to complain, as they do, of our Intrenchment upon their Liberties.’

All the Notice the House took of this very extraordinary Petition, was only to order that the General be desired to make Inquiry among the Officers of every Troop what Horses had been lost in the last Summer’s Service, and not been recruited by Prize-Horses, or otherwise, in order that the Committee of the Army might take proper Means to supply the Deficiency: As to all the other Heads thereof they were only referred to the Committee of Petitions; from whence we hear no more of them in the *Journals*. But a Memorialist^f of these Times informs us, That five of the Troopers who had presented this Petition were tried for it by a Court Martial, and sentenced to ride the wooden Horse, on the 6th of *March*,

For which some of them are punished by a Court-Martial.

D 2

in

^f *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, N^o. 47.

52 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

in the Old Palace Yard, *Westminster*; the General having commanded that no private Soldier should set on Foot any Petition to Parliament without the Consent of the Chief Officer of each Regiment.

The same Day also a Paper was presented to the House by Lieutenant-Colonel *Lilbourne*, subscribed by himself and many others, intitled *The serious Apprehensions of a Part of the People in behalf of the Commonwealth, being Presenters, Promoters, and Approvers of the large Petition of the 11th of September last*, which was read.

This Paper was much to the same Effect as the foregoing Petition.

Feb. 28. In consequence of the before-recited Orders touching the *Scots Commissioners*, the Commons were this Day inform'd that they had been apprehended at *Gravesend*, as they were embarking on their Return home, and were now under a Guard: Hereupon the House voted first a Gratuity of 20 *l.* to Col. *Saxbie* for his Service done to the Commonwealth in securing those Commissioners; and then it being put to the Question, Whether to send them back to *Scotland* by Land, so guarded? it passed in the Affirmative without a Division. To such a Degree of Contempt was the *Scots Nation* at this Time reduced.

The House resolve to send the Scots Commissioners home by Land, under a Guard.

March. The new-erected Council of State having all the public Business of the Nation now before them, the House of Commons, which constituted them, had little to do, except to confirm, by Act, such Proceedings as the other thought fit for that Sanction: This Council had also taken into their Body great Part of the House of Commons. The High Court of Justice, now sitting on Trials, engaged still more; and by the expurgative Test passed on the first of last Month, denying Admission to every Member who would not enter

§ This Petition is given in our Seventeenth Volume, p. 451.

enter his Dissent or Disapproval to the Vote of the 5th of *December* last; many more were shut out that had gone great Lengths with them before; so that scarce fifty Members meeting in the House at this Time, little Business, except Petitions and other Things of small Moment to the Public, was done in this Skeleton of a House of Commons.

Inter-regnum.
1648.
March.

March 2. To shew how great Harmony there was between the House and the principal Officers of the Army at this Juncture, we shall mention one Petition, presented this Day by Col. *Whaley* and others, intituled, *The humble Petition of the General Council of the Army, under the Command of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax.* This, and a Letter from the General, recommending it to the speedy Consideration of the House, were both read. We are not told by the *Journals* what the Substance of it was; nor do we find it in any of our Collections of the Pamphlets of these Times: But Mr. *Whitlocke* writes that the Heads thereof were these:

1. 'That Free-quarter be forthwith totally taken away.
2. 'For Provision for constant Pay of the Army.
3. 'For Receivers to account.
4. 'Abuses of clipt Money to be redress'd.
5. Soldiers Accounts to be stated, and Debentures given out.
6. 'Security for them by Deans and Chapters Lands, or otherwise.
7. 'For Satisfaction for Soldiers Horses slain or lost in Fight.
8. 'For Maintenance of maim'd Soldiers and Widows of Soldiers.
9. 'For Relief of *Ireland*.
10. 'For the Supply of the *Irish* Officers come from the Earl of *Inchequin*, &c.'

Another Petition from the Lord-General Fairfax and his Council of War,

This Petition was so extremely grateful to the House, that they ordered their Speaker to return the following Answer to it. And, indeed, whoever compares it with that of the 26th of last

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

Month, in which, amongst many high, and perhaps some not inequitable, Demands, it was required that all who had been anywise concern'd in finger-ing the Public Money should be called to Account for it, will be at no Loss in finding out a Reason for the different Fate of these two Petitions.

The Answer to the latter of them was express'd in the following Terms of Approbation and Respect.

Gentlemen,

For which they
receive the
Thanks of the
House,

THE House hath read the Letter of the General and your Petition, and look'd over every Part of it: I must needs say, and you will wonder at it I should tell you so, this Day will be a Day of much Discontent; I mean to all the common Enemies of you and us: But, as to all good Men that have engaged to carry on the Good of the Kingdom with us, it will be a great Rejoicing and Satisfaction by this your modest and discreet Petition: And as in yourselves it shews your Moderation, so all those whose Mouths are open to Malice and Detraction, will see that both the Army and Parliament are so unanimous in promoting the Public Good: The Things themselves they consider as Matter of great Concernment, and intend to take them into immediate Consideration: And, as you have shewn yourselves in former Services (for all that you and we do is but Service) forward and faithful, for these your discreet and serious Representations they have commanded me to return you the heartiest Thanks I can: And accordingly I do give you the hearty Thanks of this House; and desire you likewise to return the like hearty Thanks from this House, to the General, and to the whole General Council of the Army.'

The Parliament
vote an addition-
al Number of
Forces.

The Parliament now seem'd to be in some Jealousy of another Visit from the *Scots*; for this Day, *March 6*, they voted an Addition of 4000 Foot to the 44,373 Forces already on the Establishment
in

in *England* and *Wales*, for the better securing *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and the other new Garrisons in those Parts: Likewise an Addition of 12,000 Horse, Foot, and Dragoons to be forthwith sent into *Ireland*.

Inter-regnum.
1648.
March.

On the second of last Month the Commons had resolved to erect a new High Court of Justice, for the Trials of several Delinquents; as, *James Earl of Cambridge*^a, *Henry Earl of Holland*, *George Lord Goring*, *Arthur Lord Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, who were all included in an Act made for that Purpose. The Proceedings against these Lords and Gentlemen have been often printed^b; it may therefore be sufficient to observe, that they having been sentenced to undergo the same Fate with their late King and Master, this Day, *March 7*, the Commons were presented with Petitions from their Ladies, in Person, or their nearest Relations, to spare their Lives^c. The House ordered the Petitions to be all read; and, on the Question, Whether to refer them to further Consideration? it passed, for that Time, in the Negative by 38 against 28. But

However, next Day, *March 8*, the House thought fit to shew Mercy to some of these unhappy Victims; for on a Revival of their Petitions, and the former Question being again put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 31 against 28. The House, after ordering Candles to be brought in, and no Member suffered to go out without Leave, proceeded

^a The first of these Noblemen was the Duke of *Hamilton*, General of the *Scots* Army, defeated at *Preston*, some Time before; but tried now by the Title of *Earl of Cambridge*, his *English* Peerage.

^b *State Trials*, Vol. II. p. 1, & seq.

^c The Petitions of the *Earl of Holland* and the *Lord Capel* were presented by their Countesses in Person. The *Earl of Warwick* also presented a Petition of his own in favour of his Brother the *Earl of Holland*.

Mr. Ludlow adds, That the *Earl of Denbigh* proposed, on behalf of the Duke of *Hamilton*, his Brother-in-Law, to give the Parliament a Blank, sign'd by the said Duke, to answer faithfully such Questions as should be there inserted; but that they refused to hearken to the Proposal.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

ceeded next to consider the Petitions separately; and, after several more Divisions, they thought fit to respite the Execution of Lord *Goring* and Sir *John Owen*; and even the Earl of *Holland's* Execution was carried but by one Vote, 31 against 30. In the Lord *Goring's* Case the Number was equal, 24 and 24, so the Speaker turned the Scale for Mercy. The respiting of Sir *John Owen's* Execution passed by a larger Majority, 28 against 23. All the rest went for Blood without any Division.

Mr. *Whitlocke* writes^b, 'That the Speaker voted for Lord *Goring*, because he had formerly received some Civilities from him; and so, by his single Vote, now saved his Life: But when the Earl of *Holland's* came, and the Votes were again even, the Speaker gave his Voice against him. Thus, adds our Memorialist, the Lord *Goring*, who had been no Friend to the Religious Party, was saved; and the Earl of *Holland*, who had been a most civil Person to all, and a very great Friend to the old Puritans, and protected them in the Time of his greatest Interest, by the same single Vote lost his Life.'

General *Ludlow* informs us, That Sir *John Owen* was beholden to Commissary-General *Iretton* for his Escapeⁱ; who, observing no Motion made in favour of that Gentleman, desired the House to consider that Sir *John* was a Commoner, and therefore more properly to have been tried by a Jury.—But another Contemporary^k accounts for this Reprieve in a quite different Manner: For he tells us, That the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Anglesey*, hearing that Sir *John Owen* was certain to be condemn'd, procured some of the Navy Royal, then under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, to land; and seize upon some of the Parliament's Committees in those Parts, whom they swore to hang if Sir *John* suffered Death.—But leaving *Iretton's*

^b *Memorials*, p. 378.ⁱ *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 287.^k *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 45.

ton's real Motives on this Occasion to the Reader's Judgment, we shall only observe that, in the *Commons Journals*, we find him a Teller in favour of Sir John Owen.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

March 12. The House ordered that it should be referred to a Committee to take into Consideration the State of the *English* Prisoners of War, whether any more of them were proper to be proceeded against for Life, besides those who were appointed to be tried, or were triable by a Court Martial, for Revolts by Sea and Land; likewise to consider what other of those Prisoners were fit to be kept in Custody, or banished, and their Estates confiscated; and what other Delinquents, in reference to the late Wars, that were formerly excepted from Pardon, were fittest to continue so excepted and proscribed. Their Opinions to be reported to the House.

The Interest of Money, which had been long at eight Pounds *per Cent.* was this Day, by Order of the House, reduced to Six, to take Place from the 29th of *September* next.

March 14. Sir Arthur Heslerigge, from the last Committee appointed to draw up an Act touching Delinquents, reported their Resolutions thereupon, and the Rules they proposed for Compositions. The last Part was referred back to the same Committee that brought it in; but, after a small *Hiat* in the *Journal*, the House proceeded with the former Part, which was to vote, That Sir John Stawell, Knight, and David Jenkin, Esq; should be proceeded against for Life, by Indictments, at Common Law, in the several Counties where they liv'd: That Major-General Laugharne, Col. Powel, Col. Poyer, Capt. Linden, and Capt. Busbell, should be tried by a Court Martial for revolting by Sea and Land: That the Marquis of Winchester and Matthew Wren, late Bishop of Ely, should be excepted against for any Composition for their Estates,

Resolutions as to
other Delin-
quents.

58 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

Names of those
excepted from
Mercy.

Estates, and remain Prisoners during the Pleasure of the House. After which, Candles being ordered to be brought in, the Persons reported for Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates, were every one particularly put to the Question; when it was resolved,

That *Charles Stuart*, eldest Son of the late King, *James*, second Son of the late King, *John* Earl of *Bristol*, *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, *Sir William Widdrington*, *George* Lord *Digby*, *Sir Philip Musgrave*, *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, *Sir Richard Greenville*, *Sir Francis Dodington*, the Earl of *Worcester*, *Sir John Winter*, *Sir John Colepeper*, *Sir John Byron*, and *George* Duke of *Buckingham*; as also all that have been plotting, designing, or assisting in the *Irish* Rebellion; with all such Persons as now do hold out any Castle, Fort, or Island against the Parliament, shall be proscribed as Enemies and Traitors to the Commonwealth, and shall die without Mercy wherever they shall be found within the Limits of this Nation, their Estates confiscated, and forthwith employed for the Use of the Commonwealth. Next it was resolved, That there be no further Addition of Names to this Question: Notwithstanding which, on the 17th of this Month, Col. *Matthew Boynton*, late Governor of *Scarborough* Castle, and *Sir John Morley*, were added; and Col. *Thomas Leveson*, on the 21st.

The House had been employed for a considerable Time past, by Committees or otherwise, in framing and perfecting two Bills of a very extraordinary Nature; the one called *An Act for abolishing the Kingly Office in England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging*; and the other *For abolishing the House of Peers*. The first of these was read a third Time, on the 17th of this Month, and passed without any Division: The latter had the same Sanction on the 19th. Both of them were ordered to be forthwith printed and published; and also to be proclaimed in *Westminster*,
Cheap-

Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

These two Anti-constitutional Acts were *in hæc Verba*:

March.

An ACT for the abolishing the KINGLY OFFICE in England, Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

‘ **W** Hereas *Charles Stuart*, late King of Eng- An Act for abo-
‘ land, Ireland, and the Territories and lishing of Mo-
‘ Dominions thereunto belonging, hath, by Autho- narchy,
‘ rity derived from Parliament, been, and is hereby
‘ declared to be, justly condemned, adjudged to
‘ die, and put to Death, for many Treasons, Mur-
‘ ders, and other heinous Offences committed by
‘ him; by which Judgment he stood, and is here-
‘ by declared to be, attainted of High Treason,
‘ whereby his Issue and Posterity, and all others pre-
‘ tending Title under him, are become incapable
‘ of the said Crowns, or of being King or Queen
‘ of the said Kingdoms or Dominions, or either
‘ or any of them: Be it therefore Enacted, Or-
‘ dained, and Declared by this present Parliament,
‘ and by Authority thereof, That all the People
‘ of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and
‘ Territories thereunto belonging, of what Degree
‘ or Condition soever, are discharged of all Fealty,
‘ Homage, and Allegiance, which is or shall be
‘ pretended to be due unto any of the Issue and Po-
‘ sterity of the said late King, or any claiming un-
‘ der him; and that *Charles Stuart*, eldest Son, and
‘ *James*, call’d Duke of *York*, second Son, and all
‘ other the Issue and Posterity of him the said late
‘ King, and all and every Person and Persons pre-
‘ tending Title from, by, or under him, are and
‘ be disabled to hold or enjoy the said Crown of
‘ *England* and *Ireland*, and other the Dominions
‘ thereunto belonging, or any of them; or to have
‘ the Name, Title, Style, or Dignity of King or
‘ Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, Prince of *Wales*,
‘ or any of them; or to have and enjoy the Power
‘ and

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

and Dominion of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, or any of them, or the Honours, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Possessions, and Hereditaments, belonging or appertaining to the said Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and other the Dominions aforesaid, or to any of them; or to the Principality of *Wales*, Duchy of *Lancaster* or *Cornwall*, or any or either of them, any Law, Statute, Ordinance, Usage, or Custom to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding.

And whereas it is and hath been found by Experience, that the Office of a King in this Nation and *Ireland*, and to have the Power thereof in any single Person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and public Interest of the People; and that for the most Part Use hath been made of the Regal Power and Prerogative, to oppress, impoverish, and enslave the Subject; and that usually and naturally any one Person, in such Power, makes it his Interest to encroach upon the just Freedom and Liberty of the People, and to promote the setting up of their own Will and Power above the Laws, that so they may enslave these Kingdoms to their own Lust: Be it therefore Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That the Office of a King in this Nation, shall not henceforth reside in, or be exercised by, any one single Person; and that no one Person whatsoever shall or may have or hold the Office, Style, Dignity, Power, or Authority of King of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, or any of them, or of Prince of *Wales*; any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

And it is hereby Enacted, That if any Person or Persons shall endeavour to attempt, by Force of Arms, or otherwise, or be aiding, assisting, comforting, or abetting unto any Person or Persons that shall, by any Ways or Means whatsoever, endeavour or attempt the reviving or setting
up

‘ up again of any pretended Right of the said
 ‘ *Charles*, eldest Son of the late King, *James*, cal-
 ‘ led Duke of *York*, or of any other the Issue and
 ‘ Posterity of the said late King, or of any Person
 ‘ or Persons claiming under him or them, to the
 ‘ said Regal Office, Style, Dignity, or Authority,
 ‘ or to be Prince of *Wales*; or the promoting of
 ‘ any one Person whatsoever to the Name, Style,
 ‘ Dignity, Power, Prerogative, or Authority, of
 ‘ King of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominions
 ‘ aforesaid, or any of them; that then every such
 ‘ Offence shall be deem’d and adjudged High
 ‘ Treason; and the Offenders therein, their Coun-
 ‘ sellors, Procurers, Aiders, and Abettors, being
 ‘ convicted of the said Offence, or any of them,
 ‘ shall be deemed and adjudged Traitors against the
 ‘ Parliament and People of *England*; and shall suf-
 ‘ fer, lose, and forfeit, and have such like and the
 ‘ same Pains, Forfeitures, Judgments, and Execu-
 ‘ tion, as is used in Case of High Treason.

Inter-regnum.
 1648.

March.

‘ And whereas by the Abolition of the Kingly
 ‘ Office provided for in this Act, a most happy
 ‘ Way is made for this Nation, if God see it good,
 ‘ to return to its just and ancient Right, of being
 ‘ governed by its own Representatives or National
 ‘ Meetings in Council, from Time to Time chosen
 ‘ and intrusted for that Purpose by the People: It
 ‘ is therefore resolved and declared by the Com-
 ‘ mons assembled in Parliament, That they will put
 ‘ a Period to the Sitting of this present Parliament,
 ‘ and dissolve the same, so soon as may possibly stand
 ‘ with the Safety of the People that hath intrusted
 ‘ them, and with what is absolutely necessary for
 ‘ the preserving and upholding the Government
 ‘ now settled in the Way of a Commonwealth;
 ‘ and that they will carefully provide for the cer-
 ‘ tain chusing, meeting, and sitting of the next and
 ‘ future Representatives, with such other Circum-
 ‘ stances of Freedom in Choice, and Equality in
 ‘ Distribution of Members to be elected thereunto,
 ‘ as shall most conduce to the lasting Freedom and
 ‘ Good of this Commonwealth.

‘ And

62 *The Parliamentary HISTORY*

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘And it is hereby further Enacted and Declared,
‘notwithstanding any Thing contained in this Act,
‘That no Person or Persons of what Condition and
‘Quality ſcever, within the Commonwealth of
‘*England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the
‘*Iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey*, and Town of *Ber-*
‘*wick upon Tweed*, ſhall be diſcharged from the
‘Obedience and Subjection which he and they owe
‘to the Government of this Nation, as it is now
‘declared; but all and every of them ſhall in all
‘Things render and perform the ſame, as of Right
‘is due unto the Supreme Authority hereby decla-
‘red to reſide in this and the ſucceſſive Repreſenta-
‘tives of the People of this Nation; and in them
‘only.’

An ACT for abolishing the Houſe of PEERS.

And of the Peer-
age.

‘**T**HE Commons of *England* aſſembled in Par-
‘liament, finding, by too long Experience,
‘that the Houſe of Lords is uſeleſs and dangerous
‘to the People of *England* to be continued, have
‘thought fit to Ordain and Enact, and be it Ordain’d
‘and Enacted by this preſent Parliament, and by
‘the Authority of the ſame, That from henceforth
‘the Houſe of Lords in Parliament, ſhall be and is
‘hereby wholly abolifhed and taken away; and
‘that the Lords ſhall not from henceforth meet or
‘fit in the ſaid Houſe, called the Lords Houſe, or
‘in any other Houſe or Place whatſoever, as a
‘Houſe of Lords; nor ſhall fit, vote, adviſe, ad-
‘judge, or determine of any Matter or Thing what-
‘ſoever, as a Houſe of Lords in Parliament: Never-
‘theleſs it is hereby declared, That neither ſuch
‘Lords as have demean’d themſelves with Honour,
‘Courage, and Fidelity to the Commonwealth,
‘nor their Poſterities who ſhall continue ſo, ſhall
‘be excluded from the public Councils of the Na-
‘tion; but ſhall be admitted thereunto, and have
‘their free Vote in Parliament, if they ſhall be
‘thereunto elected, as other Perſons of Intereſt,
‘elected and qualified thereunto, ought to have.

‘And

‘ And be it further Ordained and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Peer of this Land, not being elected, qualified, and sitting in Parliament as aforesaid, shall claim, have, or make use of any Privilege of Parliament, either in relation to his Person, Quality, or Estate; any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

The Commons having, by the two foregoing Acts of their own House alone, abolished both Monarchy and the Peerage, on the twenty-second of this Month they published the following Declaration, pass'd on the 17th. Two thousand Copies thereof were ordered to be printed for the Use of the Members, who were required to distribute them in their several Counties; besides which it was ordered to be translated into *Latin, French, and Dutch*ⁿ.

A DECLARATION of the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND, expressing the Grounds of their late Proceedings, and of settling the present Government in the way of a free State.

‘ **T**HE Parliament of *England*, elected by the People whom they represent, and by them trusted and authorized for the common Good, having long contended against Tyranny, and to procure the Well-being of those whom they serve, and to remove Oppression, arbitrary Power, and all Opposition to the Peace and Freedom of the Nation, do humbly and thankfully acknowledge the Blessing of Almighty God upon their weak Endeavours, and the hearty Assistance of the Well-affected in this Work, whereby the Enemies thereunto, both public and secret, are become unable, for the present, to hinder the perfecting thereof.

The Commons
Declaration of
their Reasons for
establishing a
Commonwealth.

‘ And

ⁿ From the original Edition, printed by *Edward Husbands*, March 22, 1648.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ And, to prevent their Power to revive Tyranny, Injustice, War, and all our former Evils, the Parliament have been necessitated to the late Alterations in the Government, and to that Settlement which they judge most conducive to the Honour of God and the Good of the Nation, the only End and Duty of all their Labours.

‘ And that this may appear the more clearly and generally, to the Satisfaction of all who are concerned in it, they have thought fit to declare and publish the Grounds of their Proceedings.

‘ They suppose it will not be denied, That the first Institution of the Office of King in this Nation was by Agreement of the People, who chose one to that Office for the Protection and Good of them who chose him, and for their better Government, according to such Laws as they did consent unto.

‘ And let those who have observ’d our Stories, recollect how very few have perform’d the Trust of that Office with Righteousness, and due Care of their Subjects Good :

‘ And how many have made it their Study and Labour, to satisfy their particular Ambition and Power, with high Pressures and Miseries upon their Subjects; and with what horrid Prodigality of Christian Blood, upon Punctilio’s of their own Honour, personal Titles and Distastes :

‘ And in the whole Line of them, how far the late King hath exceeded all his Predecessors, in the Destruction of those whom he was bound to preserve ; and instead of spreading his Protection to all, scarce permitting any to escape the Violence of his Fury.

‘ To manifest this Truth, it will not be improper to take a short View of some Passages in his Reign, wherein he much further out-went all his Forefathers in Evil, than any Example can be found of Punishment.

‘ In the Dissolution of the Parliament in the second Year of his Reign, and afterwards, he shew’d an unnatural Forgetfulness, to have the violent
‘ Death

Death of his Father examined : The sad Business of *Rochelle*, and the Isle of *Rhee*, the poor Protestants of *France* do yet lament : The Loans, unlawful Imprisonments, and other Oppressions, which produced that excellent Law of the Petition of Right, were most of them again acted, presently after the Law made against them ; which was most palpably broken by him, almost in every Part of it, very soon after his solemn Consent given unto it : His Imprisoning and Prosecution of Members of Parliament, for opposing his unlawful Will ; and of divers worthy Merchants, for refusing to pay Tonnage and Poundage, because not granted by Parliament, yet exacted by him expressly against Law ; and Punishment of many good Patriots, for not submitting to whatsoever he pleased to demand, though never so much in Breach of the known Law : The Multitude of Projects and Monopolies established by him ; his Design and Charge to bring in *German* Horse to awe us into Slavery ; and his Hopes of compleating all by his grand Project of Ship-Money, to subject every Man's Estate to whatsoever Proportion he only pleased to impose upon them : The private Solicitations, Promises of Reward, and Threats, from him unto the Judges of the Law, to cause them to do his Will, rather than equal Right, and to break his and their own Oaths : The Oppressions of the Council-Table, Star-Chamber, High-Commission, Court Martial ; of Wardships, Purveyances, Knighthood, Afforestations, and many others of the like Nature, need no large Repetition, remaining yet in most of our Memories.

The exact Slavery forced upon those in *Ireland*, with the Army of Papists to maintain it, and the Position of being loose and absolved from all Rules of Government, was but a Pattern for the intended Model here.

The long Intermiſſion of our Parliaments, and the Determination to be troubled with no more, and the great Mistake in first sending the new

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March,

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

Service-Book into *Scotland*, raised their Opposition against him, and gave no Encouragement to the *English* to engage against them; which, with the Doubtfulness of Success, produced the last short Parliament, which was only considered as to serve the King's Pleasure, to cloak his Breach of the Pacification with *Scotland*; and, with twelve Subsidies demanded by him, to buy out his unlawful and unjust Exaction of Ship-Money; but failing in his Expectation therein, he suddenly and wilfully, to the Terror of most Men, dissolved it.

The *Scots*, upon the King's Breach of his Faith with them, and perceiving the Discontents amongst us, came with an Army into *England*: The King, by many unjust and unlawful Means, raised and brought a great Force into the North to oppose them; where, being moved by worthy Petitions from several Parts, and by the Honourable Endeavours of many Noble Persons, but principally by perceiving the Backwardness of his Subjects of both Kingdoms at that Time to engage in the Destruction of one another, for which End such Numbers of gallant Men were prepared by him, whose Office was to be the Preserver of them; and seeing no other Way, he did at last condescend to do that Part of his Duty to call this Parliament.

Vast Sums of Money were required and raised of the People of *England*, to gratify those by whom they had been highly damnified; and both Armies paid by them, who neither occasioned nor consented to the raising of either. But, above all, the *English* Army was laboured by the King to be engaged against the *English* Parliament: A Thing of that strange Impiety and Unnaturalness, for the King of *England* to solicit his Subjects of *England* to sheath their Swords in one another's Bowels, that nothing can answer it but his own being born a Foreigner; nor could it easily have purchased Belief, but by his succeeding visible Actions in full Pursuance of the same.

The

‘ The first Execution of this Design of Misery
‘ fell upon our poor Brethren in *Ireland*, where so
‘ many Scores of Thousands of them were with
‘ such wonderful Cruelty murdered, that scarce
‘ any Bowels but are fill’d with Compassion at it;
‘ and yet some of the Murderers themselves have
‘ not forborne to affirm, That they had the King’s
‘ Commission for their Actions.

Inter-regnum,
1648.

March.

‘ His late and slender proclaiming of them Re-
‘ bels; his Consent to a Cessation when the Re-
‘ bels gain’d all Advantages, and the Protestants
‘ were destroyed by it; his intercepting and taking
‘ away Provisions and Supplies going unto them,
‘ are no good Testimonies of his Clearness from
‘ that Blood which cried loud for Vengeance.

‘ But to return to *England*, where appeared
‘ Matter enough of Mourning.

‘ Upon the King’s coming in Person to the
‘ House of Commons to seize the five Members,
‘ whither he was followed with some Hundreds of
‘ unworthy debauched Persons, arm’d with Swords
‘ and Pistols, and other Arms; and they attend-
‘ ing at the Door of the House, ready to execute
‘ whatsoever their Leader should command them:
‘ And upon some other Grounds, (whereby
‘ Doubts being rais’d in the People, that their
‘ Grievances would not be redress’d, they grew
‘ into some Disorders) the King took Occasion
‘ from thence to remove from *London*, where pre-
‘ sently Forces appeared for him of his own Com-
‘ pany at *Kingston*.

‘ From thence he travelled to the North, endea-
‘ vouring to raise Forces there; inticed many Mem-
‘ bers of both Houses to desert the Parliament, and
‘ Trust reposed in them by their Country, and to
‘ join with him in bringing Destruction upon their
‘ Brethren and upon themselves. Instead of do-
‘ ing Justice, he protected Delinquents from it. At
‘ *Nottingham* he set up his Standard; from *Wales*
‘ and the *Marches* he got together a powerful Ar-
‘ my, and gave the first Onset of Battle at *Edge-
‘ hill*.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ He possess’d and fortified *Oxford*, his Head-
 ‘ quarter, and many other Towns and Places of
 ‘ Strength; and prosecuted a fierce and bloody War
 ‘ against the Body of all his own Subjects represent-
 ‘ ed, and then sitting in Parliament; a Thing ne-
 ‘ ver before attempted by any King in this Nation,
 ‘ and which all Men have too sad Cause with much
 ‘ Grief to remember.

‘ Their Towns and Habitations burnt and de-
 ‘ molished; their pleasant Seats wasted; their In-
 ‘ heritances given away to those that were most
 ‘ active in doing Mischief; their Servants, Bro-
 ‘ thers, Friends, and Children, murder’d. Thus
 ‘ his own People, whom, by the Duty of his Of-
 ‘ fice, he was bound to protect from all Injury,
 ‘ were, by himself in Person, pursued with Fire
 ‘ and Sword, Imprisonments, Tortures, Death,
 ‘ and all the Calamities of War and Desolation.

‘ Notwithstanding all this, and in the Heat of
 ‘ it, many Addresses were made by the Parliament
 ‘ unto the King for Peace; but in none of them
 ‘ could an Agreement be obtain’d from him, when
 ‘ the least Word of his Consent would have stopp’d
 ‘ that Issue of Blood and Torrent of Misery which
 ‘ himself had open’d in all Parts of his Kingdom.

‘ When the great God of Battle had determin’d
 ‘ very much in favour of the Parliament, and the
 ‘ King’s Strength was almost fallen away, so that
 ‘ he thought it unsafe to trust himself any longer
 ‘ with his own Forces, yet would he not then
 ‘ vouchsafe to come in unto the *English*, but ren-
 ‘ der’d himself to his Countrymen, the *Scots*; gi-
 ‘ ving unto them the Honour both of receiving him,
 ‘ and parting with him again, upon their own
 ‘ Terms.

‘ After his Restraint yet further Addresses were
 ‘ made unto him by the Parliaments of both King-
 ‘ doms for Peace, with Propositions, not heighten’d
 ‘ by Success; but these would not be granted,
 ‘ there being new and hopeful Designs of his in
 ‘ Hand, for bringing new Miseries upon his People,
 ‘ which an Agreement upon those Propositions
 ‘ might

might easily have prevented. After this passed the Votes for no further Addresses to be made unto him.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

The last Summer the Effect of those Designs, even whilst he was under Restraint, began to break forth; a new Vein of Blood was opened in the King's Name; a Plot laid (as the Terms of their own Boasting were) as deep as Hell; the Army divided into several Bodies; the Fire brake forth in many Parts of the Kingdom at once; and, for fear lest the Numbers of their *English* should be too small, or their Compassion to their Countrymen too great, a malignant Party in *Scotland* is easily invited hither: And although at first they understood the Covenant in that Sense, and prosecuted the Ends thereof, in joining with the Parliament of *England*, and fighting against the King's Party; yet now their Judgments are rectified to prosecute the same Ends by joining with the King's Party, and fighting against their Fellow-Covenanters, the Parliament of *England*. But God will not be mocked; and though this Cloud of fresh Calamities, both here and from the North, threaten'd the poor Nation; and, in all human Probability, was pouring utter Ruin upon us, yet the visible Hand of God, as many Times formerly, so now mightily and miraculously, appeared for us; and led the Army, whom he was pleased to make his Instruments, with that Courage, Wisdom, and Fidelity, as amazed and subdued our Enemies, and preserved, under him, all that can be dear unto us.

During these Distractions, and by what Means is sufficiently known, and related more fully in a late Declaration, an eighth Address must be made unto the King, contrived by his Party; the Votes of Parliament to the contrary revok'd, and Commissioners sent to the Isle of *Wight*; where, instead of yeilding to their just Desires, whilst they were treating with him for Peace, even then was he plotting to raise a new War against them,

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ and to draw more Blood of his People: To this
 ‘ End his two elder Sons were in Hostility, and
 ‘ armed with Power of granting Commissions fur-
 ‘ ther to destroy the People committed to his
 ‘ Charge.

‘ Upon all these, and many other unparallelled
 ‘ Offences; upon his Breach of Faith, of Oaths
 ‘ and Protestations; upon the Cry of the Blood of
 ‘ Ireland and of England; upon the Tears of Wi-
 ‘ dows and Orphans, and childless Parents, and
 ‘ Millions of Persons undone by him, let all the
 ‘ World of indifferent Men judge, whether the
 ‘ Parliament had not sufficient Cause to bring the
 ‘ King to Justice.

‘ But it was objected, and it was the late King’s
 ‘ own Assertion, *That those in his high Place are*
 ‘ *accountable for their Actions to none but God, whose*
 ‘ *Anointed they are.* From whence it must follow,
 ‘ That all the Men of this Land were only made for
 ‘ the Sake of that one Man the King, for him to
 ‘ do with them what he pleaseth; as if they had
 ‘ been all created for no other Purpose but to satis-
 ‘ fy the Lusts, and to be a Sacrifice to the perverse
 ‘ Will, of a Tyrant.

‘ This will not easily be believed to be so or-
 ‘ dained by God, who punisheth, but never esta-
 ‘ blisheth, Injustice and Oppression; whom we
 ‘ find offended when the People demanded a King,
 ‘ but no Expression of his Displeasure at any Time,
 ‘ because they had no King. Such an unaccount-
 ‘ able Officer were a strange Monster to be per-
 ‘ mitted by Mankind; but this Doctrine is better
 ‘ understood by the present Age, than in former
 ‘ Times; and requireth the less to be said in Con-
 ‘ futation of it, being enough to confute itself.

‘ For the Phrase of *Anointed*, no learned Divine
 ‘ will affirm it to be applicable to the Kings of
 ‘ England, as to those of *Judah* and *Israel*, or more
 ‘ to a King than to every other Magistrate or Ser-
 ‘ vant of God; or that the Words, *touch not mine*
 ‘ *Anointed*, were spoken of Kings, but unto Kings;
 ‘ who

‘ who were reprov’d and enjoined to do no Harm
‘ to the Prophets and Saints of God, there under-
‘ stood to be his Anointed.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

‘ Another Objection was, *That to bring a King
‘ to Trial and capital Punishment is without Pre-
‘ cedent.*

March.

‘ So were the Crimes of the late King ; and cer-
‘ tainly the Children of *Israel* had no known Law
‘ or Precedent to punish the *Benjamites* for their
‘ odious Abuse of the *Levite’s* Wife, yet God
‘ own’d the Action.

‘ There want not Precedents of some of his Pre-
‘ decessors, who have been deposed by Parliaments,
‘ but were afterwards, in Darkness and in Corners,
‘ basely murdered : This Parliament held it more
‘ agreeable to Honour and Justice, to give the King
‘ a fair and open Trial, by above an hundred Gen-
‘ tlemen, in the most public Place of Justice ; free,
‘ if he had so pleas’d, to make his own Defence ;
‘ that Part of his Crime being then only objected
‘ against him, of which the Parliaments of both
‘ his Kingdoms had, by their joint Declaration,
‘ formerly declared him guilty.

‘ With his Offences were join’d all along a
‘ strange Obstinacy and Implacableness, and in-
‘ cessant Labour for the Destruction of his People ;
‘ which (with the unerring Truth, wherein is no
‘ Dispensation for Kings, *that no Satisfaction shall
‘ be taken for the Life of a Murderer, but he shall
‘ surely be put to Death ; and that the Land cannot
‘ be cleansed of the Blood that is shed therein, but
‘ by the Blood of him that shed it*) brought on and
‘ effected the Work of Justice upon him.

‘ The King being dead, the next Consideration
‘ fell upon his Children : From these Branches
‘ could be expected no other than the same bitter
‘ Fruit which fell in the Reign of the Father, who
‘ had engaged them in his own Ways and Quarrel ;
‘ and the two eldest so early appearing in actual
‘ Arms and Hostility against the Parliament, no
‘ more Safety or Security could be hoped for
‘ from

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

‘ from them than from their Predecessor; nor, in
 ‘ human Probability, as Affairs then stood, any
 ‘ safe Way for a sure Peace and Prevention of fu-
 ‘ ture Troubles, and to avoid a Succession of Mi-
 ‘ sery, but by taking away the Succession of that
 ‘ from whence it hath always risen, and would
 ‘ certainly spring again, if permitted to take new
 ‘ Root, the Designs and Practices of Kings, their
 ‘ Flatterers and evil Counsellors.

‘ The Objection is obvious, *of Injustice to dis-*
 ‘ *inherit those who have a Right and Title to the*
 ‘ *Crown.* Surely the elder Right is the People’s,
 ‘ whom they claim to govern: If any Right or
 ‘ Title were in the eldest Son, the same is forfeited
 ‘ by the Father’s Act, in other Cases; even of Of-
 ‘ ficers of Inheritance, which being forfeited for
 ‘ Breach of Trust, (a Condition annex’d to every
 ‘ Office) none will deny but that the same exclu-
 ‘ deth the Children as well as the Officer: But
 ‘ here the elder Sons levied War against the Parlia-
 ‘ ment; and it cannot be alledged that the young-
 ‘ er Children were born to any Thing.

‘ But the same Power and Authority which first
 ‘ erected a King, and made him a public Officer
 ‘ for the common Good, finding him perverted,
 ‘ to the common Calamity, it may justly be ad-
 ‘ mitted, at the Pleasure of those whose Officer he
 ‘ is, whether they will continue that Officer any
 ‘ longer, or change that Government for a better;
 ‘ and, instead of restoring Tyranny, to resolve into
 ‘ a free State.

‘ Herein the Parliament received Encourage-
 ‘ ment, by their Observation of the Blessing of God
 ‘ upon other States: The *Romans*, after their *Regi-*
 ‘ *fugium*, for many hundred Years together, pro-
 ‘ spered far more than under any of their Kings or
 ‘ Emperors: The State of *Venice* hath flourished
 ‘ for one thousand three hundred Years: How
 ‘ much do the Commons in *Switzerland*, and other
 ‘ free States, exceed those who are not so, in Riches,
 ‘ Freedom, Peace, and all Happiness? Our Neigh-
 ‘ bours

‘ bours in the United Provinces, since their Change
 ‘ of Government, have wonderfully increased in
 ‘ Wealth, Freedom, Trade, and Strength, both by
 ‘ Sea and Land.

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ In Commonwealths they find Justice duly
 ‘ administer’d, the great Ones not able to op-
 ‘ press the Poorer, and the Poor sufficiently pro-
 ‘ vided for; the Seeds of Civil War and Dissen-
 ‘ tion, by particular Ambition, Claims of Succes-
 ‘ sion, and the like, (wherein this Nation hath been
 ‘ in many Ages grievously employed) wholly remo-
 ‘ ved; and a just Freedom of their Consciences,
 ‘ Persons, and Estates, enjoyed by all Sorts of
 ‘ Men.

‘ On the other Side, looking generally into the
 ‘ Times of our Monarchs, what Injustice, Oppres-
 ‘ sion, and Slavery were the common People kept
 ‘ under; some great Lords scarce affording to some
 ‘ of their Servants, Tenants, or Peasants, so good
 ‘ Meat, or so much Rest, as to their Dogs and
 ‘ Horses? It was long since warned in Parliament,
 ‘ by a Privy Counsellor to the late King, That we
 ‘ should take heed, lest, by losing our Parlia-
 ‘ ments, it would be with us as with the common
 ‘ People in a Monarchy, where they are contented
 ‘ with Canvass Cloathing and Wooden Shoes, and
 ‘ look more like Ghosts than Men: This was in-
 ‘ tended for the Fate of *England*, had our Monarch
 ‘ prevailed over us. To bring this to pass, their
 ‘ Beasts of Forests must grow fat, by devouring
 ‘ the poor Man’s Corn; for Want of which, he
 ‘ and his Wife and Children must make many a
 ‘ hungry Meal: A Tradesman furnishing a great
 ‘ Man with most Part of his Stock, or a Creditor
 ‘ with Money, and expecting due Satisfaction and
 ‘ Payment, is answered with ill Words or Blows;
 ‘ and the dear-bought Learning that Lords and
 ‘ Kings Servants are privileged from Arrests and
 ‘ Process of Law. Thus many poor Creditors and
 ‘ their Families have perished by the Injustice and
 ‘ Prodigality of their lawless Creditors.

‘ A

74 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ A poor Waterman with his Boat or Barge ; a
‘ poor Countryman with his Team and Horses,
‘ and others of other Callings, must serve the King
‘ for the King’s Pay ; which, if they can get, is
‘ not enough to find themselves Bread, when their
‘ Wives and Children have nothing but the Hus-
‘ band’s Labour to provide for them also.

‘ For that one Exaction of the Court called
‘ *Purveyance*, about which our Ancestors made so
‘ many good and sharp Laws, yet none of them
‘ could be kept ; it hath been lately computed to
‘ cost the Country more in one Year than their
‘ Assessments to the Army.

‘ These are some of those generally observed,
‘ and more public Exactions, which were obvious,
‘ not to the Understanding only, but to the Sense
‘ of the many grieved Sufferers ; but if the vast
‘ Expence of the Court, in Ways of Luxury and
‘ Prodigality, be considered ; as, on the one Side,
‘ by a standing ill ordered Diet for a Number of
‘ Drones and unprofitable Burdens of the Earth ;
‘ by chargeable Feasts, and vain-glorious Masques
‘ and Plays, (their Sabbath-Days Exercise or Pre-
‘ parations) together with other (less sinful, but no
‘ less) chargeable Provisions for Sports and Recrea-
‘ tions, for which thousands of Acres, scores of
‘ Miles, and great Parts of whole Counties have
‘ been separated from a much better and public
‘ Improvement.

‘ On the other Side, by those profuse Donations
‘ of yearly Salaries and Pensions granted to such
‘ as were found, or might be made, fit Instruments
‘ and Promoters of Tyranny, or else such as had
‘ Relation to the King, in native or personal Re-
‘ spects : In which latter Kind may be shewed Ac-
‘ counts of above 50,000 *l. per Annum* that was
‘ paid out of the *Exchequer* to Favourites of the
‘ *Scots* Nation ; besides the secret Supplies from
‘ the Privy-Purse and otherwise, best known to the
‘ Receivers ; which may perhaps be one Reason
‘ why they are so zealous to uphold the Kingly
‘ Power

Power in this Nation, whereof the King was their Countryman.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

He that observes so many hundreds of thousands, *communibus Annis*, expended in those Ways; and shall know that the legal justifiable Revenue of the Crown (besides the Customs and some other Perquisites charged with the Maintenance of the Navy and Forts) fell short of one hundred thousand Pounds, might justly wonder what secret under-ground Supplies fed those Streams of Vanity and Mischief, were it not as notorious, that the Projects, Monopolies, Sales of Offices, Bribes, Compositions for Breach of Penal Laws, and the like Ways of draining the People's Purse as wickedly got, so were only fit thus to be employed. By occasion whereof the Court arrived at that unhappy Height, as to be the great Nursery of Luxury and Intemperance; the Corrupter of the Manners and Dispositions of many otherwise hopeful Branches, sprung from the noblest Families; and an universal Perverter of Religion and Goodness therein, making good the Proverb, *Exeat Aulâ qui vult esse pius*.

In a free State, these, and a Multitude of the like Grievances and Mischiefs will be prevented; the Situation and Advantages of this Land, both for Trade abroad, and Manufactures at home, will be better understood, when the Dangers of Projects, Monopolies, and Obstructions thereof, are, together with the Court, the Fountain of them, removed; and a free Trade, with Encouragement of Manufactures, and Provision for the Poor, be settled by the Commonwealth, whereunto the same is most agreeable, and which the former Government had never yet Leisure effectually to do.

Upon all these before-mentioned, and many other, weighty Considerations, the Representatives of the People, now assembled in Parliament, have judged it necessary to change the Government of this Nation from the former Monarchy (unto which, by many injurious Incroachments, it had arrived)

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

‘ arrived) into a Republic, and not to have any
‘ more a King to tyrannize over them.

‘ In order hereunto, and for the better Settle-
‘ ment of this Commonwealth, it being found of
‘ great Inconvenience, that the House of Lords
‘ (sitting in a Body by themselves, and called by
‘ Writ to treat and advise, yet) in the making of
‘ Laws, and other great Affairs, should any longer
‘ exercise a Negative Vote over the People, whom
‘ they did not at all represent; and likewise a ju-
‘ dicial Power over the Persons and Estates of all
‘ the Commons, whereof they are not competent
‘ Judges; and that their Power and Greatness did
‘ chiefly depend upon the Power and Absoluteness
‘ of a King, whereunto they had lately expressed
‘ a sufficient Inclination.

‘ And it being most evident, that (especially in
‘ these Times of Exigency) neither the Govern-
‘ ment of the Republic, nor the Common Safety,
‘ could bear the Delays and Negatives of a House of
‘ Lords; it was therefore thought necessary, wholly
‘ to abolish and take the same away. Leaving,
‘ nevertheless, unto those Lords who have been,
‘ and shall be, faithful to the Commonwealth,
‘ the same Privilege of choosing, and being chosen,
‘ Representatives of the People, as other Persons
‘ of Interest and good Affections to the Public have
‘ Right unto; and which is not improbable to have
‘ been the Way of our Ancestors, when both Lords
‘ and Commons formerly sat together.

‘ But an Objection is frequently made, con-
‘ cerning the Declaration of the Houses, of *April*,
‘ 1646, *For governing the Kingdom by King, Lords,*
‘ *and Commons*, and other Declarations *for making*
‘ *him a great and happy Prince.*

‘ This was then fully their Intent, being at that
‘ Time confident, that the King’s ill Counsel once
‘ removed from him, he would have conformed
‘ himself to the Desires of his People in Parliament;
‘ and the Peers, who remained with the Parliament,
‘ would have been a great Cause of his so doing;
‘ but finding, after seven fruitless Addresses made
‘ unto

' unto him, that he yet both lived and died in the
 ' obstinate Maintenance of his usurped Tyranny,
 ' and refused to accept of what the Parliament had
 ' declared; and to the upholding of this Tyranny,
 ' the Lords were all obliged, in regard of their
 ' own Interest in Peerage; whereby they assumed
 ' to themselves an exorbitant Power of Exemption
 ' from paying of their just Debts, and answering
 ' Suits in Law, besides an hereditary Judicatory
 ' over the People, tending to their Slavery and
 ' Oppression, the Commons were constrained to
 ' change their former Resolutions, finding them-
 ' selves thus frustrated in their Hopes and Inten-
 ' tions so declared: Which Change being for the
 ' Good of the Commonwealth, no Commoner of
 ' England can justly repine at; neither could the
 ' King or Lords take any Advantage thereof, be-
 ' cause they never consented thereto; and where
 ' no Contract is made, there none can be said to
 ' be broken: And no Contract is truly made, but
 ' where there is a Stipulation on both Sides, and
 ' one Thing to be rendered for another; which
 ' not being in this Case, but refused, the Com-
 ' mons were no ways tied to maintain that Declara-
 ' tion, to the Performance of which, they were not
 ' bound by any Compact or Acceptance of the o-
 ' ther Part; and to the Alteration whereof so ma-
 ' ny Reasons for the Preservation of the People's
 ' Liberties did so necessarily and fully oblige
 ' them.

' Another Objection is, *That these great Mat-*
 ' *tters ought, if at all, to be determined in a full*
 ' *House, and not when many Members of Parlia-*
 ' *ment are by Force excluded; and the Privilege*
 ' *so highly broken, that those who are permitted to*
 ' *sit in Parliament do but act under a Force, and*
 ' *upon their good Behaviour.*

' To this it is answered, That every Parliament
 ' ought to act upon their good Behaviour; and
 ' few have acted, but some Kind of Force hath at
 ' one Time or other been upon them; and most
 ' of them under the Force of tyrannical Will, and
 ' Fear

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

‘ Fear of Ruin by Displeasure thereof ; some under
 ‘ the Force of several Factions or Titles to the
 ‘ Crown ; yet the Laws made, even by such Par-
 ‘ liaments, have continued, and been received and
 ‘ beneficial to succeeding Ages. All which, and
 ‘ whatsoever hath been done by this Parliament,
 ‘ since some of their Members deserted them, and
 ‘ the late King raised Forces against them, and
 ‘ several Disorders and Affronts formerly offered
 ‘ to them, if this Objection take Place, are wholly
 ‘ vacated.

‘ For any Breach of Privilege of Parliament ; it
 ‘ will not be charged upon the remaining Part, or
 ‘ to have been within their Power of Prevention
 ‘ or Reparation ; or that they have not enjoyed the
 ‘ Freedom of their own Persons and Votes, and
 ‘ are undoubtedly, by the Law of Parliaments, far
 ‘ exceeding that Number which makes a House,
 ‘ authorized for the Dispatch of any Business what-
 ‘ soever : And that which at present is called a
 ‘ Force upon them, is some of their best Friends,
 ‘ called and appointed by the Parliament for their
 ‘ Safety, and for the Guard of them against their E-
 ‘ nemies ; who, by this Means, being disappointed
 ‘ of their Hopes to destroy the Parliament, would
 ‘ nevertheless scandalize their Actions, as done un-
 ‘ der a Force ; who, in Truth, are no other than
 ‘ their own Guards of their own Army, by them-
 ‘ selves appointed : And when it fell into Consi-
 ‘ deration, Whether the Privilege of Parliament,
 ‘ or the Safety of the Kingdom, should be prefer-
 ‘ red, it is not hard to judge which ought to sway
 ‘ the Balance ; and that the Parliament should pass
 ‘ by the Breach of Privilege (as had been formerly
 ‘ often done upon much smaller Grounds) rather
 ‘ than by a sullen declining their Duty and Trust,
 ‘ to resign up all to the apparent Hazard of Ruin
 ‘ and Confusion to the Nation.

‘ There remains yet this last and weighty Ob-
 ‘ jection to be fully answered, *That the Courts of*
 ‘ *Justice, and the good old Laws and Customs of*
 ‘ *England, (the Badges of our Freedom, the Bene-*
 ‘ *fit*

‘ fit whereof our Ancestors enjoyed long before the
 ‘ Conquest, and spent much of their Blood to have
 ‘ confirmed by the Great Charter of the Liberties;
 ‘ and other excellent Laws which have continued in
 ‘ all former Changes; and, being duly executed, are
 ‘ the most just, free, and equal of any other Laws
 ‘ in the World) will, by the present Alteration of
 ‘ Government, be taken away, and lost to us and our
 ‘ Posterities.

Inter-regnum.
 1648.

March.

‘ To this, they hope, some Satisfaction is already
 ‘ given by the *Shorter Declaration* lately publish’d;
 ‘ and by the real Demonstrations to the contrary
 ‘ of this Objection, by the earnest Care of the
 ‘ Parliament, That the Courts of Justice at *West-*
 ‘ *minster* should be supplied the last Term, and all
 ‘ the Circuits of *England* this Vacation, with learn-
 ‘ ed and worthy Judges; that the known Laws of
 ‘ the Land, and the Administration of them, might
 ‘ appear to be continued.

‘ They are very sensible of the Excellency and
 ‘ Equality of the Laws of *England* being duly exe-
 ‘ cuted; of their great Antiquity, even from be-
 ‘ fore the Time of the *Norman* Slavery forced up-
 ‘ on us; of the Liberty and Property, and Peace
 ‘ of the Subject, so fully preserved by them; and
 ‘ (which falls out happily, and as an Increase of
 ‘ God’s Mercy to us) of the clear Consistency of
 ‘ them with the present Government of a Republic,
 ‘ upon some easy Alterations of Form only, leaving
 ‘ intire the Substance; the Name of King being
 ‘ used in them for Form only, but no Power of
 ‘ personal Administration or Judgment allowed to
 ‘ him in the smallest Matter contended for.

‘ They know their own Authority to be by the
 ‘ Law, to which the People have assented; and
 ‘ besides their particular Interests, which are not
 ‘ inconsiderable, they more intend the common
 ‘ Interest of those whom they serve, and clearly
 ‘ understand the same, not possible to be preserved
 ‘ without the Laws and Government of the Na-
 ‘ tion; and that if those should be taken away, all
 ‘ Industry must cease; all Misery, Blood, and
 ‘ Con-

Inter-regnum.

1648.

March.

‘ Confusion would follow ; and greater Calamities,
 ‘ if possible, than fell upon us by the late King’s
 ‘ Misgovernment, would certainly involve all Per-
 ‘ sons, under which they must inevitably perish.

‘ These Arguments are sufficient to persuade all
 ‘ Men to be well contented to submit their Lives and
 ‘ Fortunes to those just and long-approved Rules
 ‘ of Law, with which they are already so fully
 ‘ acquainted ; and not to believe that the Parlia-
 ‘ ment intends the Abrogation of them, but to
 ‘ continue and maintain the Laws and Government
 ‘ of the Nation, with the present Alterations, and
 ‘ with such further Alterations as the Parliament
 ‘ shall judge fit to be made, for the due Reforma-
 ‘ tion thereof ; for the taking away of Corruptions
 ‘ and Abuses, Delays, Vexations, unnecessary
 ‘ Travel and Expences, and whatsoever shall be
 ‘ found really burthensome and grievous to the
 ‘ People.

‘ The Sum of all the Parliament’s Design and
 ‘ Endeavour in the present Change of Govern-
 ‘ ment, from Tyranny to a free State, and which
 ‘ they intend not only to declare in Words, but
 ‘ really and speedily endeavour to bring to effect,
 ‘ is this :

‘ To prevent a new War, and further Expence
 ‘ and Effusion of the Treasure and Blood of *Eng-
 ‘ land*, and to establish a firm and safe Peace, and
 ‘ an Oblivion of all Rancor and Ill-will occasioned
 ‘ by the late Troubles ; to provide for the due
 ‘ Worship of God, according to his Word, the
 ‘ Advancement of the true Protestant Religion,
 ‘ and for the liberal and certain Maintenance of
 ‘ godly Ministers ; to procure a just Liberty for
 ‘ the Consciences, Persons, and Estates, of all Men,
 ‘ conformable to God’s Glory and their own
 ‘ Peace ; to endeavour vigorously the Punishment
 ‘ of the cruel Murderers in *Ireland*, and the re-
 ‘ storing of the honest Protestants, and this Com-
 ‘ monwealth, to their Rights there, and the full
 ‘ Satisfaction of all Engagements for this Work ;
 ‘ to provide for the settling and just observing of
 ‘ Treaties

‘ Treaties and Alliances with foreign Princes and States, for the Encouragement of Manufactures, for the Increase and Flourishing of Trades at home, and the Maintenance of the Poor in all Places of the Land; to take Care for the due Reformation and Administration of the Law and public Justice, that the Evil may be punished, and the Good rewarded; to order the Revenue in such a Way, that the public Charges may be defrayed, the Soldiers Pay justly and duly settled, that Free-quarter may be wholly taken away, the People be eased in their Burdens and Taxes, and the Debts of the Commonwealth be justly satisfied; to remove all Grievances and Oppressions of the People, and to establish Peace and Righteousness in the Land.

Inter-régnum.
1648.

March.

‘ These being their only Ends, they cannot doubt of, and humbly pray to the Almighty Power for, his Assistance and Blessing upon their mean Endeavours; wherein as they have not envied or intermeddled, nor do intend at all to intermeddle, with the Affairs or Government of any other Kingdom or State, or to give any Offence or just Provocation to their Neighbours, with whom they desire intirely to preserve all fair Correspondence and Amity, if they please; and confine themselves to the proper Work, the managing of the Affairs, and ordering the Government of this Commonwealth, and Matters in order thereunto, with which they are intrusted and authorized by the Consent of all the People thereof, whose Representatives, by Election, they are: So they do presume upon the like fair and equal Dealing from abroad; and that they, who are not concerned, will not interpose in the Affairs of *England*, who doth not interpose in theirs: And in case of any Injury, they doubt not but, by the Courage and Power of the *English* Nation, and the good Blessing of God, (who hath hitherto miraculously owned the Justness of their Cause, and, they hope, will continue to do the same)

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March.

‘ they shall be sufficiently enabled to make their full Defence, and to maintain their own Rights. And they do expect from all true-hearted *Englishmen*, not only a Forbearance of any public or secret Plots or Endeavours, in Opposition to the present Settlement, and thereby to kindle new Flames of War and Misery amongst us, whereof themselves must have a Share; but a chearful Concurrence and acting for the Establishment of the great Work now in Hand, in such a Way, that the Name of God may be honoured, the true Protestant Religion advanced, and the People of this Land enjoy the Blessings of Peace, Freedom, and Justice to them and their Posterities.’

They order the Personal Estates of the late King, the Queen, and Prince, to be appraised and sold,

March 23. The Day after publishing the foregoing Declaration, the Commons, in order to establish their new Commonwealth the more effectually, resolved upon the Disposal of the Personal Estates of the late King, Queen, and Prince; which they, this Day^t, made an Order to have inventoried, appraised, and sold, except such Parcels of them as should be thought fit to be reserved for the Use of the State; but with this Proviso, to avoid the Imputation of private Interest, That no Member of the House should have any Concern therein. In this Appraisement and Sale were included, *heu Dolor!* all the noble Collection of Pictures, antique Statues, and Bustos, which the late King, at infinite Expence and Trouble, had procured from *Rome* and all Parts of *Italy*. A Catalogue of these most valuable Curiosities, (many of which now adorn the Palaces of the *Louvre* and the *Escorial*, as well as those of other foreign Princes) with their Appraisement and Sale, was in the Hands of the late *John Anstis, sen. Esq;* Garter King at Arms, from which the following Abstract is taken.

P. I C.

^t The Act for the Disposal of these Personal Estates was not passed till *July* following.

PICTURES belonging to King CHARLES I. at his several Palaces, appraised, and most of them sold, by the Council of State.

	l.	s.	d.
<i>W</i> imbleton and Greenwich Pictures, N ^o . 143, } appraised at	1709	19	0
Pictures out of the Bear Gallery, and some } of the privy Lodgings at <i>Whitehall</i> , N ^o . 61, } appraised at	2291	10	0

Amongst these the capital Pictures were,

1. Peace and Plenty, with many Figures, as big as the Life, by *Rubens*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l*.
2. Pope *Alexander* and *Cæsar Borgia*, done by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l*.
3. The Burial of *Christ*, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 120*l*.
4. The Triumphs of *Vespasian* and his Son *Titus*, by *Julio Romano*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l*.
5. A great Piece of the Nativity, by the same Hand, appraised at, and sold for, 500*l*.
6. The Cartoons of *Raphael*, being the Acts of the Apostles, appraised at 300*l*.

<i>Oatland</i> Pictures, N ^o . 81, appraised at	733	18	0
<i>Nonsuch-House</i> Pictures, N ^o . 33, appraised at	282	0	0
Pictures in <i>Somerset-House</i> , with those which } came from <i>Whitehall</i> and <i>St. James's</i> , } N ^o . 447, appraised at	10052	11	0

Capital Pictures in these Collections.

1. *Mary*, *Christ*, and an Angel, done by *Andrea del Sarto*, appraised at 200*l*. and sold for 230*l*.
2. *Mary*, *Christ*, *St. Katherine*, *St. John*, *Elizabeth*, and *Joseph*, by *Molanese*, appraised at 100*l*. and sold for 120*l*.

Carried over 15069 18 0

F 2

Mary

l. s. d.

Brought over 15069 18 0

3. *Mary, Christ, and Joseph*, by *Andrea del Sarto*, appraised at 150*l.* and sold for 174*l.*
4. *Venus*, lying along, playing on an Organ, by *Titian*, appraised at 150*l.* sold for 165*l.*
5. *Mary, Christ, St. Mark, and a Genius*, kneeling, by *Titian*, appraised at 150*l.* and sold for 165*l.*
6. *Mary, Christ, St. Katherine, and Joseph*, by *Giorgioni*, appraised at 100*l.* sold for 114*l.*
7. The three Jewellers, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
8. A sleeping *Venus*, by *Corregio*, appraised at, and sold for, 1000*l.*
9. A Madona, by *Raphael*, appraised at, and sold for, 2000*l.*
10. *Mary, the Child, and St. Jerome*, by *Portinensis*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l.*
11. *Mary, the Child, and St. Sebastian*, by *Palma*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
12. The King, Queen, Prince, and Princess, by *Vandyke*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l.*
13. The great *Venus de Pardo*, by *Titian*, appraised at 500*l.* and sold for 600*l.*
14. The Marquis *de Gasto* making an Oration to his Soldiers, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 250*l.*
15. Nymphs at the Birth of *Hercules*, by *Julio Romano*, appraised at 100*l.* and sold for 114*l.*
16. *Titian's* Mistress, by himself, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
17. King *Charles* on Horseback, by *Vandyke*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l.*
18. *Venus* sitting to be dressed by the three Graces, by *Guido Bullioni*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l.*
19. *St. Margaret* afraid of a Monster, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
20. *Solomon* offering to Idols, by *Poedmore*, appraised at 150*l.*

Carried over 15069 18 0
Hampton-

Of ENGLAND.

85

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Brought over</i>	15069	18	0
<i>Hampton-Court Pictures, N^o. 332, appraised at</i>	4675	10	0

Among these were,

1. Nine Pieces, being the Triumphs of *Julius Cæsar*, done by *Andrew De Montanger*, appraised at 1000*l*.
2. *Herod* holding *St. John's* Head in a Platter, by *Titian*, appraised at 150*l*.

In the Committee Rooms at the Parliament House, were Pictures valued at	}	119	0	0
Pictures at <i>St. James's</i> , N ^o 290, appraised at		12049	4	0

In these Collections were,

1. *St. George*, by *Raphael*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l*.
2. The Burying of *Christ*, by *Isaac Oliver*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l*.
3. The Marquis of *Mantua's* Head, by *Raphael*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l*.
4. *Albert Durer's* Father and himself, by ditto, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l*.
5. *Tobanus* and *Erasmus*, in two Pictures, by *Holben*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l*.
6. *Mary, Christ*, and others, by old *Palma*, appraised at 200*l*. and sold for 225*l*.
7. Three Figures, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l*.
8. A Man in Black, by *Holben*, appraised at, and sold for, 120*l*.
9. Mount *Parnassus*, in a Case, by *Indelvago*, appraised at 100*l*. and sold for 117*l*.
10. *Lucretia* standing by herself, in an Ebony Frame, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l*.
11. *St. John*, by *Leonardo da Vinci*, appraised at, and sold for, 140*l*.

<i>Carried over</i>	31913	12	0
		A Piece	

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| | l. s. d. |
| | Brought over 31913 12 0 |
12. A Piece of the *Mauritians*, by *Titian*, appraised at 150*l.* and sold for 174*l.*
 13. *Charles V.* at Length, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l.*
 14. *St. Jerome*, by *Julio Romano*, appraised at, and sold for, 200*l.*
 15. Twelve Emperors, by *Titian*, appraised at, and sold for, 1200*l.*
 16. Eleven Emperors, by *Julio*, appraised at, and sold for, 1100*l.*
 17. A Courtezan holding a Looking-Glass, by *Portinensis*, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l.*
 18. *Titian's* Picture, with a Senator, done by himself, appraised at 100*l.* and sold for 112*l.*
 19. A Satyre Head, by *Carregio*, appraised at, and sold for, 1000*l.*
 20. Another of the same, appraised at, and sold for, 1000*l.*
 21. Three Pieces of *St. Sebastian*, by *Lucas Van Leyden*, appraised at 100*l.* and sold for 101*l.*
 22. The Conversion of *St. Paul*, by *Palma*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
 23. *David* meeting *Saul*, with *Goliath's* Head, by *Palma*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
 24. *Dorcas* lying dead, by *Michael Angelo Caravaggio*, appraised at 150*l.* and sold for 170*l.*
 25. The Family of the Queen of *Bohemia*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
 26. The History of Queen *Esther*, by *Tinteretto*, appraised at, and sold for, 120*l.*
 27. A Family, with divers Figures, by *Porde-noni*, appraised at, and sold for, 100*l.*
 28. The King on Horseback, appraised at, and sold for, 150*l.*
 29. *Hercules* and *Cacus*, by *Bolonese*, appraised at, and sold for, 400*l.*

Carried over 31913 12 0
STA.

l. s. d.

Brought over 31913 12 0

STATUES in Somerset-House, belonging to
King CHARLES I. appraised and sold by the
Council of State.

In the Gallery, N ^o . 120, appraised at	2387	3	0
In the Garden, N ^o . 20, appraised at	1165	14	0
Statues at Greenwich, N ^o 230, appraised at	13780	13	6
Statues in the Armory at St. James's, N ^o . 29, } appraised at	656	0	0

Total 49903 2 6

This curious and valuable Catalogue fully justifies one Part of the Character given of King Charles I. by a modern Historian², 'He had a good Taste of Learning, and a more than ordinary Skill in the Liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals; and, being a generous Benefactor to the most celebrated Masters in those Arts, he acquired the noblest Collection of any Prince in his Time, and more than all the Kings of England had done before him.'

To the foregoing Account of the Sale of the Royal Furniture, we shall add Lord Clarendon's² Account of the principal Purchasers thereof:

* Cardinal Mazarin, who, in the Infancy of the French King, managed that Scepter, had long adored the Conduct of Cromwell, and sought his Friendship by a lower and viler Application than was suitable to the Purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the Purchase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchased the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furnished his Palace at Paris.

'The King of Spain had, from the Beginning of the Rebellion, kept Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his Ambassador to the King, residing still at London; and he had, upon several Occasions,

² Walwood's Memoirs, p. 81.

² History, Vol. V. p. 263.

Inter-regnum.
1648.

March,

casions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and several Treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Ambassador, who had always a great Malignity towards the King^b, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent in Ships to the *Corunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid* upon eighteen Mules.

‘*Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, purchased the Choice of all the Medals and Jewels, and some Pictures of a great Price, and received the Parliament’s Agent with great Joy and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them.

‘The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governor of *Flanders*, disbursed a great Sum of Money for many of the best Pictures, which adorned the several Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Brussels*^c, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*.’

His Lordship adds, ‘That not one of all these Princes ever restored any of their unlawful Purchases to the King after his Restoration.’

And lay a Land-Tax of 90,000 l. per Menssem, upon the Kingdom, for six Months.

To return to the *Journals*.—

March 24. The Commons having, on the 8th of this Month, resolved that the Sum of 120,000 l. per

^b This Account of the Disposition of the Court of *Spain* towards King *Charles I.* (which was probably owing to an old Disgust about the proposed Match with the *Infanta*) corresponds with what Mr. *Ludlow* writes upon this Subject: ‘The *Spanish* Ambassador was the first that made Application, from any foreign State, to the Parliament: But they, not being satisfied with the Address of his Credentials, refused to receive them till it should be directed To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; declaring, that tho’ they did not affect any flattering Titles, yet they resolved to have their Authority owned by all those who made their Addresses to them. With which the Court of *Spain* being made acquainted, the Ambassador received Instructions from the King his Master to that End, and framed the Direction according to our Desires.’

Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 292.

^c Amongst the Furniture bought by the Arch-Duke was a Set of Tapestry, the Property of King *Charles I.* when Prince of *Wales*, and which had his Arms work’d in them. These, as we have been credibly informed, were purchased at *Brussels*, some few Years since, for the Sum of 3000 l. by his late Royal Highness *Frederick*, Prince of *Wales*; and are perhaps all that ever came back to *England*.

per Menssem be provided for six Months for maintaining the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*, to the end Free-quarter might be taken off; and that, towards raising this Sum, a Tax of 90,000*l.* *per Menssem*, for six Months, be levied upon Lands and Goods; and having appointed a Committee to consider of an equal Rule for laying such Assessment, a Report was this Day made, from the Committee for the Army, of the Rates and Proportions for each County as agreed on by them; which, after some Debate and a Division thereupon, was referred to a Committee of the whole House, and the next Month passed into an Act.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
March.

This being the first Instance of a Tax laid upon the Subjects of *England* by Authority of the House of Commons only; in order to make it more passable with the People, the Speaker was ordered to write a circular Letter to the Commissioners appointed in every County for raising the same. The Letter itself is not entered in the *Journals*, but was printed about this Time in *hæc Verba*:^d

GENTLEMEN, *Westminster, April 27, 1649.*

THE Parliament have lately passed an Act, The Speaker's
herewith sent you, for the raising of the circular Letter to
monthly Assessment of 90,000*l.* for the Maintenance of the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*, for forward the speedy Raising thereof.
six Months, from the 25th of *March* last past, to
the 29th of *September* next ensuing:

I am commanded, by the House, to recommend unto you the speedy putting the same in Execution; that the Monies, thereby appointed, may be timely assessed, collected, and paid, according to the Engagement of the Parliament; which all good Men, who wish well to the Honour and Preservation of the Commonwealth,
and

^d In a Diary, intituled, *Perfect Occurrences of every Day's Journal in Parliament; Proceedings of the Council of State; and other moderate Intelligence from his Excellency the Lord-General Fairfax's Army, and other Parts.* Printed for John Clowes and Robert Ibbitson, and licenced by Theodore Jennings, N^o 122.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

March.

‘and, in particular, to their own Good and Safety,
 ‘will be careful to effect; it being the most effect-
 ‘tual Means to take off, or prevent, the intole-
 ‘rable Burden of Free-quarter, which otherwise
 ‘will inevitably fall upon them.

‘In all which you are chiefly concerned, whom
 ‘the Parliament have especially intrusted, for the
 ‘more speedy and effectual carrying on of this
 ‘Work; which, being faithfully performed by
 ‘you, will procure Quiet and Contentment to the
 ‘People, and be esteemed a most acceptable Ser-
 ‘vice to the Parliament; it being a great Part of
 ‘their Care to prevent the sad Inconveniences of
 ‘Free-quarter.

‘I shall not press you with many Arguments to
 ‘quicken you to this Work, wherein the Public
 ‘Peace, and Safety of the Commonwealth, is so
 ‘highly concerned: Your Care and utmost Endeavours in promoting this Service is expected by the
 ‘House; whereof not doubting, I rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. LENTHALL, *Speaker.*

The Castle of
 Pontefract sur-
 render'd to the
 Parliament.

March 27. A Letter was received from Major-General Lambert, dated from *Knottingley, March the 22d, 1648*, with the Articles of Agreement for the Rendition of *Pontefract* Castle; which, being read, were approved of by the House. Also a Petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the well-affected Inhabitants of the Town of *Pontefract*, was read; after which it was *resolved*, That the Castle of *Pontefract* should be totally and forthwith demolished: That it be referred to the Committee of the West-Riding of the County of *York*, to take Care to see this Castle demolish'd, and levell'd with the Ground. The Sale of the Materials of which to go first to pay for the Charges of Demolition; and the Value of 1000 *l.* of the Remainder to be allotted to the Town of *Pontefract*, towards the repairing their Place of public
 Wor-

Worship, and the re-edifying an Habitation for a Minister. Inter-regnum.
1649.

Thus fell this noble, princely Palace, the antient Seat and Demesnes of the Earls and Dukes of *Lancaster*: It was so prodigiously strong, by Nature and Art, as, in earlier Times than these, when Gunpowder was not known, to have been thought impregnable; and at this Time stood a Siege of some Months against the Power of the Parliament's Army assisted by Gunnery; and was the last Fortress in *England* that held out against them for the King^a.

The House ordered 300*l.* a-year, clear Rent, to be settled upon Major-General *Lambert*, and his Heirs for ever, out of the Demesnes of the Honour of *Pontefract*, for this and the many other eminent Services done by him to the Parliament.

The Commons being informed of a Pamphlet, lately printed, call'd *The Second Part of England's new Chains discovered*; and the same being read, they resolved, 'That it contain'd much false, scandalous, and reproachful Matter; was highly seditious; and destructive to the present Government, as now declar'd and settled by Parliament; that it tended to Division and Mutiny in the Army; to the raising of a new War in the Commonwealth; to the hindering the present Relief of *Ireland*; and to the continuing of Free-quarter.' The House also declared, 'That the Authors, Contrivers, and Framers of the said Paper were guilty of High Treason, and should be proceeded against as Traitors: That all Persons whatsoever, who should join with, or adhere unto, and hereafter voluntarily aid or assist, the Authors, Framers, and Contrivers of the aforesaid Paper, in the Prosecution thereof, should be esteem'd Traitors to the Commonwealth; A Pamphlet, highly reflecting on their Proceedings, voted to be false, seditious, &c. and the Authors thereof declared to be Traitors.

^a This Garrison, consisting but of a few Royalists, held out very near two Months after the late King's Death; they had the Courage not only to proclaim King *Charles* the Second in it, but to strike Coin in his Name; on the Reverse of which was this Inscription, *POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO FILIO*: Some of these Coins are still in the Collections of the Curious.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

March.

monwealth; and be proceeded against accordingly.' And this Declaration was ordered to be forthwith printed, published, and proclaim'd under the Direction of the Council of State; to whom it was refer'd to find out and examine who were the Authors, Contrivers and Framers, Printers and Publishers of the said Pamphlet, and to proceed therein as they should think just and necessary, for preventing Tumults, and for preserving the Peace of the Commonwealth.

A short View of this Pamphlet, which gave so great an Alarm to the new Republick, as to occasion the foregoing most extraordinary Votes of Resentment, cannot be improper in this Place. It sets forth, in the highest Colours, 'The Hypocrisy and Perfidiousness of the Council of the Army and the Grandees, in cheating all Interests; King, Parliament, People, Soldiers, City, Agitators, Levelers, &c.' It affirms 'That the Grandees walk by no Principles of Honesty or Conscience; but, as meer Politicians, are govern'd altogether by Occasion, as they see a Possibility of making a Progress in their Designs; which Course of theirs they ever term'd *A waiting upon Providence*, that, under Colour of Religion, they might deceive more securely: That their Intent is to garrison all great Towns, and to break the Spirits of the People with Oppression and Poverty.' It farther declares, 'That these Grandees judge themselves loose, when other Men are bound; that all Obligations are to them transitory and ceremonial, and that every Thing is good and just as it conduceth to their Interests: That the Grandees never intended to comply with the *Agreement of the People*, but only to amuse that Party, whilst they hastily set up a Council of State to establish their own Tyranny: That, to prepare the Way to this, they broke the House of Commons, took away the House of Lords, removed the King by an extrajudicial Way of Proceeding, and erected such a Court of Justice as had no Place in the *English* Government: That the Re-

mainder

mainder of the House of Commons is now become a meer Channel, thro' which are convey'd all the Decrees and Determinations of a private Council of some few Officers: That all these, and the Votes, *That the Supreme Power is in the People, and the Supreme Authority in the Commons, their Representative*, were only in order to their own Interests of Will and Power: That they place their Security in the Divisions of the People: And that if the present House of Commons should never so little cross the Ambition of these Grandees, they would shew no more Modesty to them than they had done to the excluded Members.' It protests against 'their breaking the Faith of the Army with all Parties; their dissolving the Council of Agitators, and usurping a Power of giving forth the Sense of the Army against the Parliament and People; against their shooting to Death the Soldier at *Ware*, in Nov. 1647, and their Cruelties exercised on other Persons, to the debasing their Spirits, and thereby new-moulding the Army to their Designs; against their playing fast and loose with the King and his Party, till they had brought a new and dangerous War upon this Nation; against their dissembled Repentances; against their late extraordinary Proceedings in bringing the Army upon the City, to the Ruin of Trade; their breaking the House of Commons in Pieces without charging the Members particularly; and then judging and taking away Men's Lives in an extraordinary Way, as done for no other End but to make Way for their own absolute Domination.' It also protests 'against the Erection and Establishment of the High Court of Justice, as unjust in itself, and of dangerous Precedent in Time to come: As likewise against the Council of State, and putting some of themselves therein, contrary to their own *Agreement*.' It affirms, 'That this Council was no sooner erected, but it devoured half the Parliament of *England*; and now is adorning itself with Regal Magnificence, and the Majesty of courtly Attendants, like the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

March.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

March.

Athens, to head itself over the People : That the Members thereof, by their *Machiavilian* Pretences, and wicked Practices, are become Masters and Usurpers of the Name of the Army, and of the Name of the Parliament, under which Visors they had levelled and destroyed all the Authority of this Nation ; for that the Parliament, in Deed and in Truth, was no Parliament, but a Representative Glass of the Council of War ; and the Council of War but a Representative of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and *Harrison* ; and that these are the All in All of the Nation, under the Guise and Name of Parliament, General Council of the Army, High Court of Justice, and Council of State : That the Conclave of Officers have suck'd in the Venom of all former corrupt Courts and Interests ; for that the High Commission, Star-Chamber, the House of Lords, the King and his Privy Council, are all alive in that Court call'd the General Council of the Army : That the Nation was formerly ruled by King, Lords, and Commons ; but now by a General Court-Martial and House of Commons ; yet with this Difference, that the Lords were not Members both of the House of Peers and of the House of Commons ; but that the Officers, their now Martial Lords, were Members both of the Council of Officers, and of the House of Commons too : That the Nation had not the Change of a Kingdom into a Commonwealth ; but were only under the old Cheat of a Transmutation of Names, with the Addition of new Tyrannies : That for casting out one unclean Spirit they had brought with them in his Stead seven other unclean Spirits more wicked than the former, who had enter'd in and dwelt there ; and that the last State of this Commonwealth was worse than the first.

March 28. Great Part of this Day the House was taken up with reading several Letters from *Ireland*, but none of them are inserted in their *Journals*,

nals, as they used to be at Length in those of the Lords. All we can learn of them, is, that they brought an Account of the Marquis of *Ormond's* making Peace with and joining the Rebels in that Kingdom; and of Col. *Jones's* refusing to come in to him: For which the House voted the Marquis guilty of High Treason, and approved of the Colonel's Conduct in the Affair.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

March.

The Marquis of Ormond voted guilty of High Treason, for making Peace with the Irish Rebels.

It is to be remembered that, while the King's Trial was depending before the High Court of Justice, the Presbyterian Ministers of many Parishes in *London* and the adjacent Counties, to the Number of above sixty, published a Protestation, 'declaring themselves wholly unsatisfied with the Proceedings since the Exclusion and Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons; that they held themselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels, and Men, That they verily believ'd the taking away the Life of the King, in the Way of Trial, was not only not agreeable to the Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, (never yet stained with the least Drop of the Blood of a King) or the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of *May 4, 1641*, and the Solemn League and Covenant.' And many of them, after the King was beheaded, prayed publickly for the Prince of *Wales*, as King, by the Name of *Charles* the Second; particularly one Mr. *Cawtan*, who had the Courage to do so before the Lord Mayor, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the Upper Bench, by the Recorder of *London*, and the Solicitor-General of the Commonwealth, for High Treason. The Commons, in order to prevent such a Defiance of their Authority for the future, this Day appointed a Committee to bring in an Act, forbidding Ministers in *London*, or any Part of *England* or *Wales*, in their Pulpits, in

The Clergy prohibited meddling with Affairs of State in their Pulpits.

Preach-

Inter-regnum.
1649.

March.

Preaching or Praying, to meddle with Matters of Government, or the Transactions of State; and likewise prohibiting to hold Correspondence or Intelligence with foreign States, under a Penalty; and only to apply themselves to their Duty in preaching *Jesus Christ* and his Gospel, to the edifying of their Congregations.——This Act appears, by the *Journals*, to have been form'd upon the Plan of an Order of the *States General*, concerning their Clergy.

March 30. Affairs in *Ireland* growing still worse against the Government here, the Council of State thought fit to nominate Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to go Commander in Chief into that Kingdom, which the House agreed to. Commissary-General *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law, was also appointed next in Command under him: But at the same Time, as a Compliment to Lord *Fairfax*, they resolv'd to continue his Lordship General of all the Forces of the Parliament, both in *England* and *Ireland*.

The Lord Mayor
of London ha-
ving refused to
proclaim the Act
for abolishing
Monarchy,

Complaint having been made to the Commons, That the Lord Mayor of *London* had not proclaimed the late Act for abolishing the Kingly Office, according to Direction from the House, he was ordered to be summoned to appear at the Bar, on *Monday, April 2*, to answer his Contempt therein. On which Day the House, after making some additional Rules for Compositions on Delinquents Estates, was inform'd, That the Lord Mayor of *London* did attend their Pleasure according to Order: Who being called in, and set to the Bar, the Speaker told him, The House had heretofore sent an Order to him, and a Writ, to proclaim an Act for abolishing the Kingly Office in *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and he was now sent for to answer his Contempt in not doing it. The Lord Mayor answered, He did receive such an Order, but that his Conscience being charged, as it was, with several Oaths at and before his Mayoralty, he could

could not dispense with it in proclaiming that Act, and therefore had not done it. Being ordered to withdraw, and the House having considered of his Sentence, he was call'd in again, when the Speaker told him, That it was their Judgment he be discharged from the Office of Lord Mayor, and be disabled from bearing that Office; fined 2000*l.* to be paid presently; and that he be committed Prisoner to the *Tower* for a Month. The City was also ordered to proceed forthwith to another Election.

Inter-regnum,

1649.

April.

The Name of this conscientious Lord Mayor was *Abraham Reynoldson*; and it is remarkable that the very next Day, *April 3*, when the House was inform'd another Lord Mayor was elected, they thought fit to alter the Form of the Oath of this Officer, from swearing to be true and faithful to the King, to be so to the Commonwealth, &c. And, the same Day, Alderman *Thomas Andrews*, being presented to the House as the new Lord Mayor Elect, was confirmed in that Office, and ordered to have the above Oath administered to him, by one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

He is committed, fined, and deprived of his Office.

Next the House proceeded to reform the Bench of Aldermen in the City, and voted, That Sir *John Gayer*, *Thomas Adams*, *John Langham*, *James Bunce*, Names of Eminence, mentioned before in this History^c, with *Abraham Reynoldson*, Aldermen, should be disabled and discharged from bearing that Office; and that the City do proceed to elect others in their Stead.

For several Days after the House did nothing material, but making some Orders for transporting fresh Forces into *Ireland*, and for Payment of all Forces designed for that Service, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*: For which they were obliged to borrow 120,000*l.* of the City, on the Security of the two last Months Assessment of the 90,000*l.* per *Mensem* Act; and of that for the Sale of Fee-Farm Rents.

VOL. XIX

G

April

^c In our Sixteenth and Seventeenth Volumes.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

April.

The Privilege
of Members of
Parliament, as to
their Persons and
Estates, taken
off.

April 14. The House proceeded to regulate some Affairs relating to their own Members. It was ordered, 'That upon any Suit commenced before the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, or in any of the Courts of *Westminster*, against any Members of Parliament; the said Lords Commissioners, Judges, and Barons of the several Courts respectively, or any one of them, shall, by Writing under his or their Hands and Seals, give Notice thereof to every such Member; whereupon the Member is enjoined to give Appearance, and proceed as other Defendants, in case of like Suit or Action ought to do; or, in Default thereof, both their Estates and Persons shall be liable to any Proceedings, in Law or Equity, as other Members of this Commonwealth.

April 18. The House voted the Sum of 20,000 *l.* per Annum, to be paid out of the Revenue of Deans and Chapters Lands, and the Tenths, &c. for the Maintenance of Ministers, Scholars, and the Increase of the Maintenance of Masterships of Colleges in both the Universities of this Nation.

The Council of State having got some Intimation of the Authors, Printers, &c. of a Pamphlet, lately mention'd, call'd *England's Second Chains*, &c. had imprisoned in the *Tower* for it, Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilbourne*, Mr. *William Walwyn*, Mr. *Thomas Prince*, and Mr. *Richard Overton*. And

Col. *Lilbourne* and three others committed to the *Tower*, for writing a Pamphlet against the New Republic.

This Day a Petition, subscribed by 10,000 Hands, was presented to the House, intitled, *The humble Petition of divers well-affected Persons in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, Hamlets, and Parts adjacent, in behalf of the aforesaid Prisoners.*

This Petition, which carries more of the Air of an Impeachment, is not entered in the *Journals*. Mr. *Whislocke* has indeed left an Abstract of it in a few Lines only; but this Piece is of so extraordinary a Nature, and was productive of so many remarkable Consequences, that we shall make

make no Scruple of giving it at large, as printed in one of the Diaries of these Times &c. It runs thus :

Inter-regnum.
1649.
April.

‘ THE more we consider the State and Condi- A Petition in
‘ tion of our four Friends, the more we are their Favour,
‘ perplexed in our Thoughts with Fear of great sign’d by 10,000
‘ Danger intended towards them: For though no- Persons.
‘ thing hath been pretended to be done by them
‘ contrary to any Law made before the Fact where-
‘ of they are suspected, nor any Thing done by
‘ them after you had published your Declaration
‘ concerning the same; yet your Votes and Decla-
‘ ration, the hostile Seizure of them by the Coun-
‘ cil of State, and their Examinations apart upon
‘ Questions against themselves, no Accuser appear-
‘ ing Face to Face, no Friends allowed to be pre-
‘ sent, and thereupon committed Prisoners to the
‘ Tower, do all, in a great Measure, forejudge
‘ them as really guilty of High Treason.^a

‘ All which Proceedings being directly contrary
‘ to *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and to
‘ your own Declarations of the 8th of *February*
‘ and 17th of *March* last, wherein you resolve to

G 2

‘ pre-

^g *The Moderate; impartially communicating Martial Affairs to the Kingdom of England, No. 41.* This Diary, which was printed without the Name of any Publisher, not only contains a very exact Account of the Proceedings of Parliament, but seems to have been published with a Design to expose their arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings. The Author of it, at the same Time, appears, by his Style, to have been as determined an Enemy to the Royalists, as to the Army and the House; and was probably himself one of the Levellers, who now began to be so formidable to the Parliament.

^h To confirm all these Allegations in this Petition, there was published, at this Time, a Pamphlet, intituled, *The Picture of the Council of State, held forth to the free People of England by Lieut. Col. John Lilbourne, Mr. Thomas Prince, and Mr. Richard Overton, now Prisoners in the Tower of London: Or, a full Narrative of the late extrajudicial and military Proceedings against them. Together with the Substance of their several Examinations, Answers, and Deportments before them at Derby-House, upon the 28th of March last.*—By this Narrative, sign’d by the Prisoners themselves, it appears that they behaved with astonishing Resolution before the Council of State, and gave them their own to their Faces with amazing Intrepidity.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

‘ preserve inviolable those Fundamental Laws and
 ‘ Liberties, concerning the Preservation of the
 ‘ Lives, Properties, and Liberties of the People,
 ‘ with all Things incident thereunto; we are in-
 ‘ forced to believe (what this House hath formerly
 ‘ found) that some eminent Persons, whose parti-
 ‘ cular Interests our said Friends may have opposed,
 ‘ have surprized this Honourable House; and trans-
 ‘ ported you into some causeless Fears of Danger
 ‘ from those our Friends, whose constant Care and
 ‘ Watchfulness for the Settlement of this long-
 ‘ wasted Commonwealth, and Prevention of Mi-
 ‘ sery and Bloodshed, hath been so evident by their
 ‘ frequent Motions and Petitions to those just Ends;
 ‘ especially by that which was burnt by the com-
 ‘ mon Hangman, that of *September 11, 1648*, and
 ‘ their *Agreement of the People*¹; wherein are com-
 ‘ prized such clear Fundamentals of just Govern-
 ‘ ment, Redress of Grievances, and Conducements
 ‘ to general Peace and Reconcilement, as, had their
 ‘ Advice in any reasonable Time been taken, we
 ‘ are verily persuaded, much of that Rancour, Bit-
 ‘ terness, and Bloodshed which hath befallen, had
 ‘ been prevented. And which, in our Apprehen-
 ‘ sions, are sufficient Evidences against all Suspi-
 ‘ cions of treasonable Practices, or Intentions in
 ‘ them; and may also acquit them of that Asper-
 ‘ sion of Unsettledness cast upon them; and which
 ‘ we wonder did not invite a more respectful Car-
 ‘ riage towards them, than to fetch them out of
 ‘ their Beds and Houses by so formidable Parties of
 ‘ Horse and Foot.

‘ And truly, if we may have Leave to speak our
 ‘ Hearts in behalf of these our Friends, who for
 ‘ many Years have neither spared their Estates nor
 ‘ Time, but frequently hazarded their Lives in
 ‘ our Behalf, and for the Safety and Freedom of
 ‘ Parliament and People; we are persuaded in our
 ‘ Consciences the greatest Crime, or rather Cause,
 ‘ for which they are thus molested, is, That they
 ‘ have

¹ In our Seventeenth Volume, p. 451.

‘ have incessantly endeavoured to induce the Army
 ‘ to the real Performance of those many good
 ‘ Things they engaged for, and largely promised
 ‘ to this Nation, in their many Declarations, &c.
 ‘ when first they disputed and opposed the Orders
 ‘ of Parliament: And for that they have endea-
 ‘ voured to confine the Interest of the Army to
 ‘ the just Interest of the People, and to reduce the
 ‘ Military Power to a real Subordination to the
 ‘ Civil Authority.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

‘ For which their Endeavours, we verily believe,
 ‘ they are hated by some eminent Persons of the
 ‘ Army; whose frequent distinct Actings according
 ‘ to their own immediate Wills, towards this Ho-
 ‘ nourable House, in casting out Members without
 ‘ any Charge brought against them, leaving or ta-
 ‘ king in only whom they pleased, and so in the
 ‘ Army; and by their Prevalency against some par-
 ‘ ticular Persons, hath made them presume, and,
 ‘ we fear, resolve, to sacrifice the Blood and Lives
 ‘ of these our dear Friends, for standing betwixt
 ‘ their absolute Domination and the Freedom of
 ‘ the People.

‘ And that this may not appear to be a ground-
 ‘ less Supposition, be pleased to take Notice that
 ‘ our said Friends have been long aspersed by them,
 ‘ as Levellers, Atheists, Jesuits, &c. upon what
 ‘ Ground and to what End we know not, except
 ‘ to prepare them to Destruction; threatening,
 ‘ *That, if once they caught hold of them, they should*
 ‘ *not escape out of their Hands, as they had done out*
 ‘ *of the Hands of Holles and Stapylton; that they*
 ‘ *have deserved more to be fought against than the*
 ‘ *most desperate Enemy: Plotting and contriving,*
 ‘ in their General Council of Officers, to get a
 ‘ Law To have Power to hang, or otherwise put to
 ‘ Death, as they saw Cause; and that because the
 ‘ Civil Magistrate could not dispatch them fast
 ‘ enough.

‘ In all which their Threats and Contrivances,
 ‘ there are many Circumstances to prove that they
 ‘ principally aimed at those our Friends: And so,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

‘ when neither by Threats or Promises they could
 ‘ prevail with them to desist from preserving the
 ‘ Freedom of the Nation, and Discovery of their
 ‘ Designs, (as was done in their *Serious Apprehen-*
 ‘ *sions*, presented to this House the 26th of *February*
 ‘ last) having absolute Power in the House, where,
 ‘ contrary to the Self-denying Ordinance, they take
 ‘ up many Places, which, with an Army at Com-
 ‘ mand, is more than all the rest; and having got
 ‘ enew of themselves into their Council of State,
 ‘ (contrary to their own positive Consent in the
 ‘ *Agreement of the People*) they catch at an Oppor-
 ‘ tunity, and fall upon our Friends with such a
 ‘ Face of Force and Terror as would have made the
 ‘ World believe, whatever Cruelty had succeeded,
 ‘ there had been a Cause answerable to that Force.

‘ The like having not been known, that Per-
 ‘ sons so visible and responsible should (to the Ter-
 ‘ ror of their Wives, Children, Families, and
 ‘ Neighbours) in the Break of the Day, be fetch’d
 ‘ out of their Beds, forced out of their Houses, and
 ‘ carried away as Prisoners of War; and, after a
 ‘ Day’s Restraint in the Garrison at *Whitehall*,
 ‘ carried before the Council of State; and there,
 ‘ after Examination of them against themselves (no
 ‘ Accusers appearing Face to Face, or Friends al-
 ‘ lowed to be present) were, about Twelve o’Clock
 ‘ at Night, committed Prisoners to the *Tower*, up-
 ‘ on Suspicion of High Treason. In the Debates
 ‘ whereupon, as we are credibly informed, Lieu-
 ‘ tenant-General *Cromwell* declared in the Coun-
 ‘ cil, *That they must break this Party in Pieces*,
 ‘ (meaning our Friends) *or they would break them:*
 ‘ *That, if they did not do it, they would render them-*
 ‘ *selves the most silly, low-spirited Men in the World,*
 ‘ *to be routed by so contemptible and despicable a*
 ‘ *Generation of Men.*

‘ And immediately after was published your De-
 ‘ claration, which, reflecting upon them as *Persons*
 ‘ *seditious, destructive to the present Government,*
 ‘ *Mutineers, Hinderers of the Relief of Ireland,*
 ‘ *and Continuers of Free-quarter,* hath (with the
 rest

rest before-mention'd) so fore-spoken them, that, wheresoever they come to Trial, they are likely to fall under Abundance of Prejudice; besides the Influence those eminent Persons (who now visibly appear their particular Adversaries) have upon all Persons in Office, and upon the present Forces in being. Infomuch as, all Things duly weighed, they are, in Truth, really fore-judged and condemned; for what Judge and Jury may not, unawares, be captivated by so many Pre-occupations and Pre-possessiones, or not be terrified to do what so forcible and powerful Influences so strongly incline, if not inforce them unto?

Inter-regnum
1649.
April,

Besides, your Order for their Trial requires the Attorney-General^f to take speedy Course for Prosecution of them; which is a Disadvantage we hoped these Times would have been free from, as holding too much Resemblance with those foregone; that sought, by Craft and Sophistry, to entrap and enslave plain Men in their Trials for Life, Estate, or Liberty, to the Wills of Princes: The said Attorney being a Member of your House, and consequently a Judge of the Judge before whom he pleads; and, in Opposition to our Friends, representeth no less than the Supreme Authority; a most unequal Prosecutor, and against whom they have no Plea or Relief, as, by Law, they have against others.

Upon all which Considerations, we cannot discern it to be equal in itself, or safe for them, that they should, through so many Prejudices and Pre-occupations, be by you put upon their Trial in the Upper Bench: So that however plausible it may seem in itself for you to put them upon this Kind of Trial, yet, all Things considered, nothing more evidently tendeth to their Destruction: Nor can we discern how it can be just to try

^f Edmund Prideaux, Esq; (Member for Lyme Regis) who was appointed Attorney-General to the Commonwealth a few Days before. He was first made Solicitor upon Mr. St. John's accepting the Office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in October, 1648.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

try Men upon a Declaration made after the Fact pretended; nor can we judge it reasonable that so many Members of the Army, their profess'd Adversaries, should, contrary to the Self-denying Ordinance and common Equity itself, sit as Judges in this Honourable House, or in the Council of State, whilst this Cause is debated; they having in effect been charged by those our Friends, in their *Serious Apprehensions* to this House; and this Proceeding towards them appearing but as a revengeful Recrimination. And therefore if, after mature Consideration of the Premises, you shall judge them worthy of further Prosecution, as for our Parts we verily believe there is no Cause, we earnestly intreat that you will first make strict Inquiry into the Cause of that Terror and Force of Soldiers used towards them, contrary to Law; repair their Credit; give them the Benefit of Law against whomsoever shall appear to have been Authors or Actors therein; and enlarge them from their present Imprisonment in the *Tower*.

And then, if any Person hath wherewith to accuse them, that they be proceeded against, as by Law they ought, by Warrants from a Justice of the Peace of the Neighbourhood, where the Fact in Question was pretended to be committed; not granted without Oath made of a Crime against some Law in being before the Fact; and to be served by Constables, not Soldiers, and that upon Appearance of the Accusers and Accused Face to Face, as by Law is due; and if the Fact beailable, then to be allowed Bail; if not, to be secured in that legal Prison appointed for that Place and Fact, untill the next Sessions, not in a Prerogative Prison as the *Tower* is; and then, in an ordinary Way, exempt from all such Preoccupations and Fore-judgings, to have the Benefit of a Trial by a Jury of twelve sworn Men in the Neighbourhood, not over-aw'd by Soldiers, nor disturbed by Policy or Sophistry. A Trial which, we conceive, cannot in Justice, in any
 ' Cir-

‘ Circumstance, be denied to the worst of Thieves, Murderers and Traitors; and which was our real Intentions in our late Petition presented to you concerning them. And we are confident our Friends, upon such a Trial, will prove themselves to be no such Persons, but faithful Friends to their Country’s Liberties.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

‘ We also intreat that, for the future, no Person may be censured, condemned, or molested, concerning Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate, but for the Breach of some Law first made and published; and that this Honourable House would be a Pattern to all future Parliaments, in leaving the Trial of all such Causes to subordinate Magistrates, and ordinary proper Courts of Justice.

‘ That the Execution of Civil Affairs may be wholly freed from the Interposition of the Sword; and that Martial Law, during the Time of Peace, where all Courts are open, may not be exercised upon the Persons of any whomsoever. All which are not more evidently just in themselves, than they are consonant to *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*; the Benefit whereof, we trust, you will never be induced to take from us.

‘ That Captain *Bray*, now close Prisoner in *Windsor Castle*, may immediately be enlarged, or otherwise be put upon a legal Trial, as is before desired in behalf of our other Friends.

‘ Lastly, We intreat that there may be some general Encouragement from you, to proceed to a speedy Settlement, by way of an *Agreement of the People*, upon the Grounds of an equal and just Government; that so all Discord, Enmity and Dissatisfaction amongst former Friends, may finally receive a speedy End, by and with this Parliament; and that the End of this may be the Beginning of a new and equal Representative.’

The foregoing Petition, being read, gave so high Offence to the House, that they resolved, That

the

‘ He was committed for publishing a Pamphlet against the Proceedings of Lord *Fairfax* and his Council of War.

106 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1649.

April.

the Petitioners should have a very sharp Reprehension for it. A Committee was also appointed to withdraw immediately, and prepare an Answer to be given to the Petitioners by the Speaker; which, upon their being called in, he delivered to them in the following Terms:

Gentlemen,

For which they
receive a severe
Reprimand from
the Speaker.

THE House hath read your Petition; and, lest I should mistake as you have done, hath commanded me to give you this Answer:

‘That the four Persons in your Petition principally concern’d are, upon just and mature Consideration, appointed to be brought unto a legal Trial for Crimes against Law preceding the Fact, and not after, as suggested; at which Trial they will have free Liberty to offer whatsoever they shall have to say in their own Defence: And to such Proceedings the Parliament do expect that all Persons in *England* should submit, and in the Judgment of Parliament acquiesce.

‘That the Contrivers of this Petition have therein taken a Liberty of scandalous and seditious Suggestions, not allowable nor justifiable in any Persons whatsoever, under Pretence of Petitioning; and do so far countenance the imprisoned Persons, in the Offences for which they are questioned, as might render them justly suspected of the like Crimes. But the Parliament will yet exercise Patience towards you, conceiving that divers well-meaning Men may, by false yet specious Pretences, be deluded into this Miscarriage; and hoping that, by this Forbearance, such may come to see their own Errors.’

This Answer was ordered to be printed and publish’d; but it was of very little Use, for when the Men durst not any more petition in Behalf of *Lilbourne* and his Associates, the Women took it up; and presented one to the House in Terms, as *Mr. Whitlocke* writes, almost scolding. To which they ordered the following Answer to be given them
by

by their Serjeant at Arms: 'That the Matter they
'petitioned about was of an higher Concernment
'than they understood; that the House had given
'an Answer to their Husbands; and therefore de-
'sired them to go home and look after their own
'Business, and meddle with their Housewifery.'

Inter-regnum.
1649.

April.

April 20. The House fell upon their usual Me-
thod of seeking God, by Fasting and Prayer; they
had a Fast the Day before this, on which they had
no less than three Sermons preached to them, in
Margaret's Church, Westminster, as it was then
called: And another Fast was ordered for the 3d
of *May* next, all which were to implore God's
Blessing upon the Forces of the Parliament already
in *Ireland*, and those that were to be sent thither.
Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commissary-Ge-
neral *Ireton*, and Mr. *Corbet*, were ordered to pre-
pare Preachers for that Exercise.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, having so far waved his
Peerage as to be chosen and return'd Knight of the
Shire for the County of *Berks*, took his Seat in the
House; and was this Day appointed by them one
of the Commissioners of the Navy. Soon after
the Lord *Howard of Eskricke* got himself return'd
for the City of *Carlisle*, and was admitted to sit as
a Commoner in the House. *William Earl of Sa-
lisbury* did the same for *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*, to the
great Disgrace of that Noble Family; which had
been raised, by Royal Bounty, in the three last
Reigns, to the great Honours and Wealth they
were then possessed of. These three Lords were
all of the whole Peerage that, so far, bowed their
Knees to this Commonwealth. And the Commons,
to compliment their coming amongst them, voted,
That they should sit in all the Committees of
which they were Members at the Time when the
House of Lords was dissolved.

Three Peers e-
lected Members
of the House of
Commons,

April 23. The Commons next proceeded to no-
minate Commissioners of the Excise and of the
Customs,

Inter-regnum. Customs, with all their Under-Officers, and to
1649. make large Regulations for the same.

April.

Who vote 3000l.
per Ann. for
Maintenance of
two of the late
King's Children,

April 25. This Day the House heard a Report from the Council of State, concerning a Letter received from the Earl of *Northumberland*, about some Maintenance for the late King's Children. At the same Time the House read a Petition from such Servants as were appointed by Parliament to attend those Children, for their Arrears. These were ordered to be referred to the Committee for the Revenue, and they were required to pay to the Earl of *Northumberland* such Monies as were due to him, according to several Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, for Maintenance of the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Sister, unto that Day: Likewise all the Arrears due to the Servants for Wages and Diet.

At the same Time two Letters were read, from the Princess *Elizabeth*; one of them, dated *January 22, 1648*, no doubt, was for imploring Mercy for her Father's Life; the latter, dated *April 2, 1649*, we are told, was to desire Leave to go beyond Sea; which last Request, being put to the Question, was carried in the Negative, by 29 against 24. So 3000l. *per Annum* was ordered to be settled upon the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Lady *Elizabeth*; and the Care and Tuition of them, with the Management of this Allowance, was at that Time committed to Sir *Edward Harrington*, not a Member, but he afterwards desired to be excused from the Office.

And order Money to be coined in the Name of the Commonwealth.

Another Report was made to the House from the Council of State, concerning the Form and Inscriptions of the new Coin; when it was resolved to have the Inscription in the *English* Tongue, and to be, on that Side where the *English* Arms do stand alone, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND; on the other Side, which bears the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, GOD WITH US. These Coins are yet very common in the Cabinets of Collectors.

The

The last Matter done this Day by the House, was to vote that an Act of Oblivion should be brought in; and the Question being put, That the Time to be set in that Act, from which no Action or Suit shall be commenced or prosecuted for any Thing said or done in the Time of the War, and in Prosecution thereof, shall be before the first Day of this Term: The House divided, when it was carried in the Affirmative, 25 against 22; and an Act was ordered in accordingly.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

April.

An Act of Oblivion ordered in,

Nothing further occurs in this Month worth our Notice, except an Act of fatal Consequence to the Hierarchy, the Preamble to which runs thus: Another for the
‘ The Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, having seriously weighed the Necessity of Sale of Deans and Chapters Lands,
‘ raising a present Supply of Monies for the present Safety of this Commonwealth; and finding
‘ that their other Securities are not satisfactory to Lenders, nor sufficient to raise so considerable a
‘ Sum as will be necessary for the said Service, are necessitated to sell the Lands of the Deans and
‘ Chapters, for paying of the Public Debts: And
‘ for the raising of 300,000 *l.* for the present Supply of the pressing Necessities of this Commonwealth, they do enact, ordain, and declare, &c.’

By this Act the Name and Function of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebendaries, and all other Offices and Places belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel, in *England* or *Wales*, were abolish’d; and all their Manors, Lands, Improvements, Tythes, Rights of Patronage and Presentation, and all other Possessions whatsoever; together with all Charters, Deeds, Writings, and Evidences, concerning the same, were vested in Trustees for the Use of the Commonwealth: But all Lands, &c. appointed for the Maintenance of Grammar Schools, Alms-houses, or other charitable Uses; as also for repairing of Highways and Bridges, were excepted: Nor did this Act extend to the Revenues of any College, Foundation or House.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

May.

House of Learning, in either of the Universities, nor to the Schools, of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, or *Eaton*. These Lands of Deans and Chapters were not to be sold under twelve Years Purchase, nor a Reversion thereof upon a Lease for one Life, under six Years; for two Lives, three Years and a half; and for three Lives two Years and a half's Purchase; and so in proportion. Their Parsonages and Tithes appropriate, and Rents issuing therefrom, as also their Rights of Patronage and Presentation, were excepted from Sale, in order to be applied to the better Maintenance of Parochial Ministers. Thus much may be sufficient to give the Reader an Idea of this extraordinary Act.

For settling the
Commonwealth,

May 1. This Day Sir *Arthur Hesserigge* brought in an Act touching the Settlement of the Commonwealth; which was read a first and second Time, and afterwards referred to a Committee of such Members as were of the Council of State; but all that came were to have Voices.

And declaring
what Offences
shall be deem'd
Treason.

The same Gentleman also brought in another Act, declaring what Offences shall be adjudged Treason; which was read and committed in the same Manner.

The House likewise appointed a Day for taking into Consideration the Business touching undue Elections and unequal Representatives.

This last Resolution was probably owing to the great Alarm spread throughout the Kingdom on account of the Imprisonment of Col. *Lilbourne*, *Walwyn*, *Prince*, and *Overton*; who, as already observed, not only had the Courage to print a Narrative of all that pass'd between the Council of State and themselves, but also this Day published, with an Introduction by way of Appeal to the People, their new Model of Government, intitled, *An Agreement of the Free People of England, rendered as a Peace-Offering to this distress'd Nation*, subscribed with their own Names, and dated, *From our causeless Captivity in the Tower of London, May 1,*

1649.

1649. This Project, which aim'd at the immediate Dissolution of the Parliament and the Council of State, took so much with the Public, that not only the Printer thereof had the Resolution to put his Name to it, but even the Licenser of the Press gave it his *Imprimatur*: He was soon after removed from that Office; and it is highly probable his licensing of this Pamphlet contributed not a little to his Dismission. As it is strictly Parliamentary, we shall give the Heads thereof from the original Edition;

Inter-regnum,
1649.
May.

I. ' That the Supreme Authority of *England*,
' and the Territories therewith incorporate, shall
' reside henceforward in a Representative of the
' People, consisting of 400 Persons, but no more;
' in the Choice of whom, according to natural
' Right, all Men of the Age of twenty-one Years
' and upwards (not being Servants, or receiving
' Alms, or having served the late King in Arms or
' voluntary Contributions) shall have their Voices,
' and be capable of being elected to that Supreme
' Trust, those who served the King being disabled
' for ten Years only. All Things concerning the
' Distribution of the said Members proportionable
' to the respective Parts of the Nation, the Places
' for Election, the Manner of giving and taking
' Voices, with all Circumstances of like Nature,
' as also their Salary, to be settled by this present
' Parliament, in such Sort as the next Representa-
' tive may be in a certain Capacity to meet with
' Safety at the Time herein expressed: And such
' Circumstances to be made more perfect by future
' Representatives.

Heads of a new
Plan of Govern-
ment, by Lil-
bourne, &c. styl'd
*An Agreement of
the People.*

II. ' That 200 Members, and not less, shall be
' esteemed a competent Representative; and the
' Major Voices present shall be conclusive. The
' Place of Session and Choice of a Speaker, with
' other Circumstances of that Nature, are referred
' to the Care of this and future Representatives.

III.

' *London*, printed for Gyles Calvert, at the black spread Eagle,
at the West End of Paul's, and licensed by Gilbert Mabbot, April 30,
1649.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

III. ' And to the end all public Officers may be
' certainly accountable, and no Factions made to
' maintain corrupt Interests, no Officer of any Sa-
' lary, Forces in Army or Garrison, nor any Re-
' ceiver of public Money, shall (while such) be
' elected a Member; and if any Lawyer shall be
' chosen, he shall be incapable of Practice as a
' Lawyer, during the whole Time of that Trust.

IV. ' That no Member of the present Parlia-
' ment be capable of being elected of the next Re-
' presentative, nor any Member of any future for
' the Representative immediately succeeding; but
' are free to be chosen, one Representative having
' intervened: Nor any Member be made either
' Receiver, Treasurer, or other Officer during that
' Employment.

V. ' That, for avoiding the many Dangers ap-
' parently arising from the long Continuance of the
' same Persons in Authority, this present Parlia-
' ment shall end the first *Wednesday* in *August* next,
' 1649; and, in the mean Time, shall order the
' Election of a new and equal Representative, to
' meet and sit in Power and Authority as such up-
' on the Day following.

VI. ' If the present Parliament shall omit to
' order such Election of a new Representative, the
' People to proceed in electing thereof as formerly
' accustomed in the Choice of Knights and Bur-
' gesses; observing only the Exceptions of such
' Persons being Electors or Elected, as are men-
' tioned before in the first, third, and fourth Heads
' of this Agreement: It being most unreasonable
' that the People should either be kept from new,
' frequent, and successive Representatives; or that
' the Supreme Authority should fall into the Hands
' of such as have manifested Disaffection to the
' common Freedom, and endeavour'd the Bondage
' of the Nation.

VII. ' And, for preserving the Supreme Autho-
' rity from falling into the Hands of any whom the
' People shall not chuse, that a new Representative
' shall be held upon the first *Thursday* in *August* next
' afore-

‘ said; the ordering of themselves, as to the Choice
 ‘ of a Speaker, and the like Circumstances, is to
 ‘ be left to their Discretion; but, in the Extent
 ‘ and Exercise of Power, to follow the Rules of
 ‘ this Agreement; and, according to their best
 ‘ Judgments, to set Rules for future equal Distri-
 ‘ bution, and Election of Members as is herein ex-
 ‘ pected to be done by the present Parliament.

Inter-régnum,

1649.

May.

VIII. ‘ And, for the Preservation of the Su-
 ‘ preme Authority, in all Times, entirely in the
 ‘ Hands of such Persons only as shall be chosen
 ‘ thereunto, that the next, and all future Repre-
 ‘ sentatives, shall continue in full Power for the
 ‘ Space of one whole Year; and that the People
 ‘ shall of Course chuse a Parliament once every
 ‘ Year, so as all the Members thereof may be in a
 ‘ Capacity to meet and take place of the foregoing
 ‘ Representative, the first *Thursday* in every *August*,
 ‘ for ever: Also that the next or any future Re-
 ‘ presentative, being met, shall continue their Ses-
 ‘ sion, Day by Day, without Intermission, for
 ‘ four Months; and after that shall be at Liberty
 ‘ to adjourn from two Months to two Months, as
 ‘ they shall see Cause, untill their Year be expired;
 ‘ but shall sit no longer than a Year, upon Pain of
 ‘ Treason to every Member that shall exceed that
 ‘ Time; and, in Times of Adjournment, shall not
 ‘ erect a Council of State, but refer the Managing
 ‘ of Affairs, in the Intervals, to a Committee of
 ‘ their own Members, giving such Instructions,
 ‘ and publishing them, as shall in no Measure
 ‘ contradict this Agreement.

IX. ‘ And, that none henceforth may be igno-
 ‘ rant or doubtful concerning the Power of the Su-
 ‘ preme Authority, and of the Affairs about which
 ‘ the same is to be conversant and exercised, that
 ‘ the Power of Representatives shall extend, with-
 ‘ out the Consent or Concurrence of any other
 ‘ Person,

1st, ‘ To the Conservation of Peace and Com-
 ‘ merce with foreign Nations.

114 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

2dly, ' To the Preservation of those Safeguards
' and Securities of our Lives, Limbs, Liberties,
' Properties, and Estates, contained in the *Petition*
' of *Right*, made and enacted in the third Year of
' the late King.

3dly, ' To the raising of Monies, and generally
' to all Things as shall be evidently conducive to
' those Ends, or to the Enlargement of our Free-
' dom, Redress of Grievances, and Prosperity of
' the Commonwealth.

' For Security whereof, having, by woeful Expe-
' rience, found the Prevalence of corrupt Interests
' powerfully inclining most Men, once intrusted
' with Authority, to pervert the same to their own
' Domination, and to the Prejudice of our Peace
' and Liberties, that it be further agreed,

X. ' That the said Representatives be not im-
' powered to continue in Force, or to make any
' Laws, Oaths, or Covenants, whereby to com-
' pel, by Penalties or otherwise, any Person to any
' Thing in or about Matters of Faith, Religion,
' or God's Worship; or to restrain any Person
' from the Profession of his Faith, or Exercise of
' Religion according to his Conscience; nothing
' having caused more Distractions and Heart-burn-
' ings in all Ages, than Persecution for Matters of
' Conscience in and about Religion.

XI. ' That the said Representatives be not im-
' powered to impress or constrain any Person to
' serve in War, by Sea or Land, every Man's
' Conscience being to be satisfied in the Justness of
' that Cause wherein he hazards his own Life or
' may destroy another's.

' And, for abolishing all Enmity and Rancour
' as much as now possible, that it be agreed,

XII. ' That, after the End of this present Par-
' liament, no Person shall be questioned for any
' Thing said or done in reference to the late Wars,
' or public Differences, otherwise than in pursu-
' ance of the Determinations of the present Par-
' liament against such as have adhered to the King
' against

‘ against the Liberties of the People; and saving
 ‘ that Accountants for public Money received shall
 ‘ remain accountable for the same.

Inter-regnum.
 1649.
 May.

XIII. ‘ That all Exemptions of any Persons from
 ‘ the ordinary Course of legal Proceedings, by Vir-
 ‘ tue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Patent, De-
 ‘ gree, or Birth; or of any Place of Residence,
 ‘ Refuge, or Privilege of Parliament, shall be
 ‘ henceforth void; and the like not to be reviv’d
 ‘ again.

XIV. ‘ That the Representatives be not im-
 ‘ power’d to give Judgment upon any one’s Per-
 ‘ son or Estate, where no Law hath before been
 ‘ provided; nor to give Power to any other Court
 ‘ so to do; for where there is no Law there is no
 ‘ Transgression for Magistrates to take Cognizance
 ‘ of: Neither to be impower’d to intermeddle with
 ‘ the Execution of any Law whatsoever.

‘ And, in order to remove all long settled
 ‘ Grievances, and take away all Cause of Com-
 ‘ plaints, that the People may no longer depend
 ‘ upon the uncertain Inclination of Parliaments to
 ‘ remove them,

XV. ‘ That it shall not be in the Power of any
 ‘ Representative to punish, or cause to be punish’d,
 ‘ any Person for refusing to answer Questions against
 ‘ himself in criminal Cases.

XVI. ‘ That it shall not be in their Power,
 ‘ after the End of the next Representative, to con-
 ‘ tinue or constitute any Proceedings in Law long-
 ‘ er than six Months to the final Determination of
 ‘ any Cause, and to be then past all Appeal.

XVII. ‘ That the Laws and the Proceedings
 ‘ therein shall be in no other Language than *Eng-
 ‘ lish*; nor shall any Person be hindered from plead-
 ‘ ing his own Cause, or of making Use of whom
 ‘ he pleases to plead for him.

‘ The reducing of these, and other the like Pro-
 ‘ visions of this Nature, in this Agreement provi-
 ‘ ded, and which cannot now, in all Particulars,
 ‘ be perfected, is intended to be the proper Work
 ‘ of faithful Representatives.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

XVIII. ' That it shall not be in their Power to
' continue or make any Laws to hinder any Per-
' son from trading into any Place beyond the Seas,
' where any of this Nation are free to trade.

XIX. ' That it shall not be in their Power to
' continue Excise or Customs upon any Sort of
' Food, or any Wares or Commodities, longer than
' four Months after the Beginning of the next Re-
' presentative; being both of them extreme bur-
' densome and oppressive to Trade, and so expen-
' sive in the Receipt, as the Money expended there-
' in, if collected as Subsidies have been, would ex-
' tend very far towards defraying the Public Charges:
' Nor shall they raise Money by any other Ways,
' after the aforesaid Time, but only by an equal
' Rate in the Pound upon every Real and Personal
' Estate in the Nation.

XX. ' That it shall not be in their Power to
' make or continue any Law, whereby Men's Real
' or Personal Estates, or any Part thereof, shall be
' exempted from Payment of their Debts; or to
' imprison any Person for Debt of any Nature, it
' being both unchristian in itself, and no Advantage
' to the Creditors, and both a Reproach and Preju-
' dice to the Commonwealth.

XXI. ' That it shall not be in their Power to
' make or continue any Law, for taking away any
' Man's Life, except for Murder, or other like
' heinous Offences destructive to human Society,
' or for endeavouring by Force to destroy this
' Agreement: But shall use their utmost Endea-
' vour to appoint Punishments equal to Offences;
' nor shall the Estate of any capital Offender be
' confiscate, but in Cases of Treason only; and,
' in all other capital Offences, Recompence shall
' be made to the Parties damnified, as well out of
' the Estate of the Malefactor, as by Loss of Life,
' according to the Conscience of his Jury.

XXII. ' That it shall not be in their Power to
' continue or make any Law, to deprive any Per-
' son, in case of Trials for Life, Limb, Liberty,
' or Estate, from the Benefit of Witnesses in his
' Behalf;

Behalf; nor to deprive any Person of those Privileges contain'd in the *Petition of Right*.

Inter-regnum;
1649.

XXIII. ' That it shall not be in their Power to continue the Grievance of Tythes longer than the End of the next Representative; in which Time they shall provide to give reasonable Satisfaction to all Impropiators: Neither shall they force, by Penalties or otherwise, any Person to pay towards the Maintenance of any Ministers, who, out of Conscience, cannot submit thereunto.

May.

XXIV. ' That it shall not be in their Power to impose Ministers upon any Parish; but shall give free Liberty to the Parishioners of every Parish to chuse such as themselves shall approve; and upon such Terms, and for such Reward as themselves shall be willing to contribute, or contract for. Provided none be Chusers but such as are capable of electing Representatives.

XXV. ' That it shall not be in their Power to continue or make a Law for any other Way of Judgments, or Conviction of Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate, but only by twelve sworn Men of the Neighbourhood, to be chosen in some free Way by the People, to be directed before the End of the next Representative, and not pick'd Men.

XXVI. ' They shall not disable any Person from bearing any Office in the Commonwealth, for any Opinion or Practice in Religion, excepting such as maintain the Pope's (or other foreign) Supremacy.

XXVII. ' That it shall not be in their Power to impose any public Officer upon any Counties, Hundreds, Cities, Towns, or Boroughs; but the People capable of chusing Representatives, shall chuse all their public Officers that are in any Kind to administer the Law for their respective Places, for one whole Year, and no longer; and so from Year to Year.

' And, that no Person may have just Cause to complain, by reason of taking away the Excise and Customs, that it be agreed,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

XXVIII. ' That the next, and all future, Representatives shall exactly keep the Public Faith, and give full Satisfaction, for all Securities, Debts, Arrears, or Damages, justly chargeable out of the public Treasury; and shall confirm all just public Purchases and Contracts that have been, or shall be made; save that the next Representative may confirm or make null, in part or in whole, all Gifts of Lands, Money, Offices, or otherwise, made by the present Parliament, to any Member of the House of Commons, or to any of the Lords, or to any of the Attendants of either of them.

' And forasmuch as nothing threateneth greater Danger to the Commonwealth, than that the Military Power should by any Means come to be superior to the Civil Authority, that it be agreed,

XXIX. ' That no Forces shall be raised but by the Representatives for the Time being; and, in raising thereof, that they exactly observe these Rules, namely, That they allot to each County, City, Town, and Borough, the raising and paying of a due Proportion, according to the whole Number to be levied; and shall, to the Electors of Representatives in each respective Place, give free Liberty to appoint all Officers appertaining to Regiments, Troops, and Companies, and to remove them as they shall see Cause; reserving to the Representative the appointing only of the General, and all General Officers, and the commanding of them all upon what Service shall seem to them necessary for the Safety, Peace, and Freedom of the Commonwealth.

' And as it has been found by sad Experience, that generally Men make little Scruple of exceeding their Time and Power in Places of Trust, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Power, where there are no Penalties imposed for such destructive Offences, that it be agreed,

XXX. ' That it shall not be in the Power of any Representative in anywise to render up or take

‘ take away any Part of this Agreement, nor level
 ‘ Men’s Estates, destroy Property, or make all
 ‘ Things common: And if any Representative shall
 ‘ endeavour, as a Representative, to destroy this
 ‘ Agreement, every Member present in the House,
 ‘ not entering or immediately publishing his Dis-
 ‘ sent, shall incur the Pains due for High Treason,
 ‘ and be proceeded against accordingly: And if any
 ‘ Person shall, by Force, endeavour or contrive the
 ‘ Destruction thereof, each Person so doing shall
 ‘ likewise be dealt with as in Cases of High Treason:
 ‘ And if any Person shall, by Force of Arms, disturb
 ‘ Elections of Representatives, he shall incur the
 ‘ Penalty of a Riot: And if any Person, not capable
 ‘ of being an Elector or Elected, shall intrude himself
 ‘ among those that are, or any Person shall behave
 ‘ himself disorderly, such Person shall be liable to a
 ‘ Presentment by a Grand Inquest, and of an Indictment
 ‘ upon Misdemeanor, and be fined, or otherwise punished,
 ‘ according to the Discretion and Verdict of a Jury.
 ‘ And all Laws made, or that shall be made, contrary
 ‘ to any Part of this Agreement, declared null and void.’

Inter-segnum.
 1649.
 May.

To give the greater Countenance to the foregoing Agreement, the Day after its Publication, *May 2*, two Petitions were presented to the House in favour of the Authors of it; the one from divers Citizens of *London*, and the other from the County of *Essex*; but no Answer was given to either of them.

May 3. This Day, according to Appointment, A Fast observed was observed as a Day of public Humiliation, to for the Success of beg God’s Blessing upon *Cromwell* and his Army, the Parliament’s Army in Ireland, then going for *Ireland*; when the House heard three Sermons as before. The Ordinance for keeping a Monthly Fast, which had subsisted all the Time of the War till now, was repealed, and occasional ones substituted in their Stead; for which this Reason is assigned in the Act, That such set Times

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

Times for extraordinary Duties of Worship are apt to degenerate into meer Formality and customary Observances; and that it is more agreeable to the Nature of such extraordinary Worship, and to the approved and successful Examples of the People of God in Scripture, to set a-part special Times for such solemn Duties, according to the particular Occasions, to the end the same might be observed with greater Care and Attention.

After the foregoing Act of Humiliation the House did nothing material for several Days together; for, having swallowed up the Kingly Office, and assumed to themselves the Legislative Power of the Lords, much private Business came before them, which had no Reference to the Public. Yet was not this Remnant of a Parliament, with their Council of State, free from Fears; many Parties were now raised against them, wherein the Royalists had no Share, of which that of Col. *John Lilbourne*, and his Associates before-mentioned, was the most formidable. The Reader may recollect a Petition offered to the House in their Favour on the 18th of last Month, in which the newly-assumed Power of the Commons was attack'd in so spirited a Manner, as would have been more severely punish'd than by a Reprimand from the Speaker, had they durst have done so: But their Apprehensions of raising a Tumult, which might have ended in their own Destruction, prevented them at this Time.

The House under great Apprehensions from the Levellers.

As an Instance of their Fears and Jealousies, out of their own Records: The House having been informed that divers Persons were then in Arms, and committed Hostilities against the Parliament; on the 11th of this Month they ordered a Letter, sign'd by the Speaker, to be sent to the General to acquaint him with it, and to desire he would take especial Care therein.

Ordered also that Major-General *Skippon* do take Care, that the Forces in the City of *London* and Suburbs, under his Command, be in Readiness for Service, for the Preservation of the Peace
and

and Safety of the Parliament and City, according to the Power already given him, and according to such Directions as he shall, from Time to Time, receive from the Parliament and Council of State : That the Committee of the Militia of *London* and *Westminster* do act accordingly; and that the Council of State do take Care that all the Forces of the Parliament in and about *London*, &c. do join for the Preservation of their Peace and Safety.

Inter-regnum,
1649.
May.

This may be look'd upon as a sufficient Alarm of approaching Danger, and yet no particular Party or Person is named for it, except one *William Thompson*; against whom, and against all that should join him, a Proclamation was ordered to be issued, declaring them Rebels and Traitors, and to be proceeded against accordingly. But Mr. *Whitlocke* writes that they were a strong Body of the Army, of the new levelling Principles, who had mutinied on their being ordered for *Ireland*. And

May 12. The Matter appears plainer who were the Parties concern'd in these Insurrections, by an Order from the House for a stricter Confinement of their Principals; for, in a Debate this Day, a Question being put That Col. *Lilbourne*, Mr. *William Walwyn*, Mr. *Thomas Prince*, and Mr. *Overtton*, be made close Prisoners in the Tower, and kept from one another in separate Lodgings, it passed in the Affirmative without a Division. And another Question being put, That the said Prisoners should have Maintenance allowed them during their close Confinement, the House divided upon it, when the Noes were found to be 26, and the Yeas 19; so it passed in the Negative.

Upon these severe Resolutions of the House, the Author of one of the Diaries of these Times makes this pertinent Remark: ' This Treatment is worse than ever was exercised by the late King, or any of his Predecessors, who always allowed Prisoners, tho' committed for High Treason, in the *Tower*, a weekly Maintenance according to their

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May,

their Quality.—Not only to commit Men close Prisoners, that neither Man, Woman or Child can come to, or speak with them, (for that is close Imprisonment) whereby they are made incapable of procuring Money, Cloaths, or Victuals, from Friends or Kindred, other than what their merciless Keepers will please to afford them; but to give them no Allowance at all to maintain them! What if some of them have no Estates, their Friends cannot be admitted to relieve them; their Keepers have not wherewithall; must they not consequently perish and starve in Prison? Could it ever be conceived that Human Nature should produce such Things? Are these Principles suitable with Grace in those that would be thought godly?"

This Appeal to the Public, which it is highly probable was followed by more of the same Import, had such Effect, that, three Days after, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to take Care that *Lilbourne* and his Fellow-Prisoners should have necessary Provisions.

An Act passed
for preventing
Free Quarter.

An Act had been brought into the House some Time since by Commissary-General *Ireton*, intituled, *An Act for the more constant and certain Supply of the Soldiers with Pay, and the preventing of any further Oppression and Damage to the People, by free Quarter and Billet*, which was read a third Time this Day, passed, and ordered to be printed and published forthwith.

Another, declar-
ing what Of-
fences shall be
judg'd Treason.

May 14. This Day another Act was read a third Time and passed, *An Act declaring what Offences shall be judged Treason; and that the Time for prosecuting Persons for the same shall be within one Year after the Offence committed*. Ordered that this Act be forthwith printed and published.

Hereby it was enacted, 'That if any Person shall maliciously publish, by writing, printing, or openly declaring, that the Government of the People, by its own Representatives or National Meetings in Council, is tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful;

unlawful; or that the Commons in Parliament assembled are not the Supreme Authority of this Nation; or plot, contrive, or endeavour to raise Force against the present Government, or Subversion or Alteration of the same, and shall declare the same by any open Deed: That if any Person shall, maliciously and advisedly, plot and contrive, or endeavour, the Subversion of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, or Council of State; or move any Person for doing thereof, or stir up the People to rise against them, or either of them, or their Authorities: And that if any Person, not being an Officer, Soldier, or Member of the Army, shall plot, contrive, or endeavour to stir up Mutiny in the Army under the Command of *Thomas Lord Fairfax*; or withdraw any Soldiers or Officers from their Obedience to their superior Officers, or from the present Government; or shall procure or assist any Foreigners or Strangers to invade *England* or *Ireland*; or adhere to any Forces raised by the Enemies of the Parliament, Commonwealth, or Keepers of the Liberty of *England*; or shall counterfeit the Great Seal of *England*, for the Time being, used and appointed by the Authority of Parliament; every such Offence shall be deem'd High Treason.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

May.

On the 2d of this Month Dr. *Doriflaus*, an Agent for the Parliament in *Holland*, having been assassinated there by some desperate Royalists, in Revenge, as they said, for their King's Murder, he having acted as Counsel against his Majesty at his Trial: This Day Sir *Henry Vane* reported to the House, from the Council of State, the Examinations of the three Persons, Servants to Dr. *Doriflaus*, who were present at his Death, and likewise a Letter from Mr. *Walter Strickland*, dated from the *Hague*, May 23, about the same. These being read, (which are not entered in the *Journals*) together with the Opinions of the Council of State, touching the Disposal of Dr. *Doriflaus's* Body, his Children and Servants, the House ordered, That

124 *The Parliamentary HISTORY*

Inter-regnum,
1649.

May.

200*l.* per Ann. be settled as a Pension for Life on his Son; 500*l.* a-piece to be given to each of his Daughters, and 250*l.* for his Interment, to be charged upon the Revenue. And that a Declaration should be drawn, on Occasion of the Murder of Dr. *Doriflaus*, in order to be printed and published, which was done accordingly *in hæc Verba*:

A Declaration
published there-
upon,

‘ **W** Hereas *Isaac Doriflaus*, Doctor of the Laws, and one of the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty of this Commonwealth, was lately employ’d from the said Commonwealth as their public Minister, to be resident together with *Walter Strickland*, Esq; a Member of Parliament, Resident there, with the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*, to whom he had Credentials and Instructions for maintaining a right Understanding and good Correspondency between the Nations, according to the antient Alliances and Treaties; and was, within a few Days after his Arrival there, notwithstanding his said Public Character, barbarously and execrably murdered by armed Men, violently rushing into his Lodging: 2

The

3 Mr. *Whislocke* writes, That *Doriflaus* was murdered by twelve *Englishe* Cavaliers, in Disguise, who stabbed him in several Places, and cut his Throat; and that one of them said, *Thus dies one of the King’s Judges.* *Memorials*, p. 386.

Lord *Clarendon*, who was then at the *Hague*, gives a more particular Account of this Matter: His Lordship informs us, ‘That Dr. *Doriflaus* having taken up his Lodging at a House where Strangers used to repair till they could provide better for their own Accommodation; whilst he was at Supper, in Company with many others who used to eat there, half a Dozen Gentlemen enter’d the Room with their Swords drawn, and required those who were at Table not to stir; for there was no Harm intended to any but the Agent who came from the Rebels in England, who had newly murder’d their King: And one of them, who knew *Doriflaus*, pull’d him from the Table, and kill’d him at his Feet; and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walk’d leisurely out of the House, leaving those who were in the Room in much Amazement and Consternation. Tho’ all who were engaged in the Enterprize went quietly away, and so out of the Town, insomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or call’d in Question, yet they kept not their own Counsel so well (believing they had done a very heroic Act) but

* The Parliament of *England* have thought fit to
 * declare, That they have a very tender Sense and
 * Resentment of the said barbarous Murder of the
 * said Dr. *Dorilaus*, their Resident, and of the
 * Affront and Dishonour that is thereby done to
 * this Commonwealth: And altho' the particular
 * Instruments and Actors of this execrable Wick-
 * edness are not yet clearly known, which the said
 * Parliament doubt not but the Divine Justice will
 * in Time discover and bring to a just and a due
 * Punishment; yet it is sufficiently manifest, by their
 * previous Threatenings, to have proceeded from
 * that Party from whom all the Troubles of this
 * Nation have formerly sprung; who, being Slaves
 * to that Tyranny from which this Commonwealth
 * hath happily (through the Blessing of God) vin-
 * dicated themselves; cease not to prosecute all
 * those Counsels that Hell can suggest for the Re-
 * establishment of it; whose Ways of Force the
 * Parliament doubts not but God will enable them
 * to resist, if that Enemy shall again, after a double
 * Conquest, attempt upon the Peace and Liberty
 * of this Commonwealth. And the better to deter
 * them from these abominable Villainies of Mur-
 * der and Assassination, they do hereby declare,
 * That they shall not suffer an Act of such Inhu-
 * manity and hateful Impiety to pass without a sig-
 * nal Mark of their just Resentment; but shall there-
 * fore esteem themselves called upon hereby to
 * bring to due Punishment those of the Enemy's
 * Party, not being admitted to compound, whose
 * Crimes and Treasons have long since forfeited
 * their Lives to the Justice of the Laws, whom the
 * Parliament might otherwise have been induced to
 * give Pardon unto, had they not seen that Party,
 * so Savage-like, thirsting after Blood.

Inter-règnum.
1649.

May.

* And

but that it was generally known they were all *Scotsmen*, and most of them Servants or Dependents of the Marquis of *Montrose*.

History, Vol. V. p. 293.

The States General offered a Reward of 1000 Guilders for apprehending the Assassins, declaring it to be Death for any to harbour them.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

May.

‘ And the said Parliament do further declare,
 ‘ That if the Enemy shall go on to perpetrate, or
 ‘ endeavour, any such horrible execrable Villanies,
 ‘ whereby either Life or Member of any Person
 ‘ faithful to the Interest of the Commonwealth shall
 ‘ be endangered, that they will, by the Execution
 ‘ of Justice upon such Members of that Party, as,
 ‘ not being admitted to compound, are at their
 ‘ Mercy, and might otherwise have enjoyed it,
 ‘ make them find that Course to be of Disadvan-
 ‘ tage to them.’

In our Account of the Transactions of *March* last, we took Notice of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice against the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Capel*, Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Owen*. The three first soon after lost their Heads on the Scaffold. The two last were reprieved; and, on the 7th of this Month, upon a Petition from them to the House, it was ordered That they should be pardoned as to their Lives, and be forthwith set at Liberty; as were also Major-General *Laugharne* and Col. *Powell*, who had been condemned by a Court-Martial.— Very luckily for these Gentlemen, this Vote of Mercy was pass’d before the Parliament received Advice of *Dorislau’s* Assassination; otherwise it is highly probable, from the Tenor of the foregoing Declaration, that their Lives would have been offered up as a Sacrifice to his Manes.

May 15. This Day the House, according to former Order, was resolved into a grand Committee, Serjeant *Thorpe* in the Chair, to debate on the putting a Period to the sitting of the present Parliament. We may suppose that this Debate took up the whole Day, for no other Business else is entered to be done on it^b. After the House was resumed, it was resolved, That, in order to the declaring a certain Time for putting a Period

^b *Whitlocke* says it lasted divers Hours.

riod to the Sitting of this Parliament, the House was of Opinion, That, in the first Place, Consideration be had of the stating of the Succession of future Parliaments, and of the regulating of their Elections; and a Committee was ordered accordingly.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

May.

For several Days after the last the House did nothing extraordinary. On the 19th they read and pass'd an Act, declaring and constituting the People of *England* to be a Commonwealth, and a Free State; to be henceforth govern'd as such by the Supreme Authority of the Nation, the Representatives of the People in Parliament, and by such Officers as they shall appoint, without any King or House of Lords; and ordered it to be forthwith printed and published.

An Act passed for establishing the Commonwealth.

The House having also received Advice that the late Insurgents, now distinguished by the Name of *Levellers*, were routed, their Leader, *William Thompson*, slain, and many of them in Prison at *Oxford* and *Northampton*; they ordered Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to be sent down to those Places to try them, also a Proclamation into several Counties, for apprehending all those who had fled from the Lord General *Fairfax*.

This Victory was look'd upon to be so considerable, that, on *May* the 26th, the House ordered the Speaker to give hearty Thanks to the General, the Lieutenant-General, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, for their great Service done to the Commonwealth, in the last Expedition: And that the 7th of *June* be set apart as a Day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his great Mercy vouchsafed to this whole Commonwealth, by the Success he had given to the Parliament's Forces, in timely suppressing the late Insurrection and Rebellion, and delivering the Parliament and Nation from the dangerous and sad Effects which the same did threaten: Likewise that an Act should be prepared,

A Thanksgiving-Day appointed for suppressing an Insurrection of the Levellers.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

June.

Censure passed
upon two Alder-
men of London,
for refusing to
proclaim the Act
against Monar-
chy.

pared, declaring the Grounds and Reasons for ap-
pointing the said Day of public Thanksgiving.

May 31. The House accepted of an Invitation from the Lord Mayor and Citizens, to dine with them on the Thanksgiving Day at *Grocers-Hall*, after the Sermons were ended.

This Day Alderman *Pennington*, a Member of the House of Commons, made a Report, from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, of their Proceedings in proclaiming the Act for abolishing of Kingly Government, which the late Lord Mayor had refused to do. That the present Lord Mayor (*Andrews*) and fifteen Aldermen had proclaimed it; that Sir *Thomas Soames* and Alderman *Chambers* were absent, and two others were out of Town; on which the House ordered that the two last-named Aldermen should be sent for, to answer for their Offence in not yielding Obedience to the Order of the House. Accordingly,

On the first of *June*, both the said Aldermen appeared at the Bar of the House, when Sir *Thomas Soames*, being ask'd Whether he was not acquainted with the Order of the House, whereby the Aldermen of the City were to attend the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, at the proclaiming the abovesaid Act? he answered, That he had Notice of it from the Lord Mayor, and acknowledged he was not present; the Reason of which was, that it was against his Conscience, because it was contrary to many Oaths he had taken. Alderman *Chambers* urged the same Excuse, by Reason that his Heart went not along with the Work: Hereupon the House resolved to disable Sir *Thomas Soames* from being a Member of the present Parliament; and discharged both of them from being Aldermen of the City of *London*, and from bearing any Office of Trust in the Commonwealth.

The same Day the Commons appointed the following Lawyers to be Judges of the respective Courts

Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, in the room of those six mentioned before, who had refused to act after the Death of the King, viz. Serjeant *Nicholas*, and *Richard Aske*, Esq; in the Upper-Bench, Serjeant *Puleston*, and *Peter Warburton*, Esq; in the Common-Pleas; Serjeant *Thorpe*, and *Alexander Rigby*, Esq; in the Exchequer. And, in order to qualify the three Baristers for their new Dignity, they were order'd to be call'd to the Degree of Serjeants at Law, by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

June.

Six new Judges appointed.

Nothing occurs for some more Days after the last, except that, the Day before the Thanksgiving-Day, June 6, a new Mace was brought into the House, ornamented with Flowers instead of the Cross, and a Ball on the Top; with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* instead of the late King's: This was not only approv'd of and ordered to be carried before the Speaker for the future, but all other Maces, throughout the Nation, were required to be made according to the same Form and Pattern^f. The House also made an Order, That the Lord Mayor of *London*, on his Reception of the Speaker and Members of Parliament at Dinner, the next Day, should deliver the Sword, usually borne before the Lord Mayor, into the Hands of the Speaker; and that he should, thereupon, re-deliver the Sword to the Lord Mayor. This Ceremony, never done before to any but the Kings of *England*, from whom they received that Sword, was performed at *Graciers-Hall*.

The Parliament entertain'd, at Dinner, by the City of London.

Mr. *Whitlocke* gives the following Account of the Ceremonial observed at Dinner^g: 'The Speaker sat first, next to him the Lord Mayor, and then the Lord-General. The Earl of *Pembroke* calling to *Whitlocke* to sit down, being the antient Commissioner of the Great Seal, he desired his Lordship would be pleas'd first to sit down, and then

VOL. XIX.

I

he

^f The Form of the new Mace, prescribed by an Order of the 13th of April, 1649, is eras'd in the *Journals*. The Description of it here given is taken from the *Moderate*, N^o. 48.

^g *Memorials*, p. 392.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

June.

he would sit by him. With that the Earl spoke aloud, (as he used to do) that all near him might hear, *What, do you think that I will sit down before you? I have given Place heretofore to Bishop Williams, to my Lord Coventry, and my Lord Littleton; and you have the same Place that they had; and as much Honour belongs to the Place under a Commonwealth, as under a King; and you are a Gentleman as well born and bred as any of them; therefore I will not sit down before you.* With this Earnestness he caused *Whitlocke* to sit down before him, and sat himself the next to him; the Lord President of the Council, the other Commissioners of the Great Seal, also the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Howard*, sat next to the Earl of *Pembroke*; and, after them, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and other Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State.

Upon this Occasion some of the Aldermen and Common Council, in the Name of the City, presented to the Lord-General *Fairfax* a large, weighty Basin and Ewer of beaten Gold; and to Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* a Service of Plate of the Value of 300 *l.* and 200 Broad-Pieces of Gold, as a Testimony of the City's good Affections.

How acceptable all this was to the Parliament, appears by the following Vote pass'd the Day after the Entertainment, viz.

Resolved, 'That this House doth take in very good Part the great Respect shewn Yesterday, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, to the Speaker and Members of this House; and that the hearty Thanks of the House be given to them for it; those Members who were Aldermen were ordered to do this. A Committee was also named to consider of some Mark of Favour and Respect to be done, by the House, to the City of London.'

June 8. The House pass'd an Act for the better Maintenance of preaching Ministers, and other pi-

ous

ous Uses. The Preamble to which sets forth, 'That it hath been found by long Experience, that the Government of the Church of *England* by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other Officers depending on that Hierarchy, hath been a great Impediment to the perfect Reformation and Growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the Civil State and Government of the Commonwealth; and therefore hath been, by Authority of Parliament, abolished, and all their Manors, Lands, &c. (excepting all Tythes appropriate, Oblations, Obventions, Portions of Tythes appropriate, belonging to the said Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and others of the said Hierarchy) appointed to be sold for Payment of the just Debts of the Commonwealth, and other necessary Charges occasioned by the late Civil War, promoted mainly by, and in favour of, the said Hierarchy.'

Inter-regnum;
1649.

June.

An Act for better Maintenance of the Parochial Clergy.

Then it proceeds to enact, 'That all such Tythes appropriate, &c. and also the First Fruits and Tenth, formerly payable to the Crown, shall be vested in Trustees; who were thereout to pay all such Salaries as had been before appointed to preaching Ministers or Schoolmasters in *England* or *Wales*, untill the Parliament should otherwise order:

'That 18,000 *l. per Annum*, out of the said First Fruits and Tenth, be employed for the above Purposes, untill that Sum could be raised out of the Improvement of Tythes belonging to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. and also that 2000 *l. per Annum* more be employed for the Increase of Masterships of Colleges in both Universities, where Maintenance was not sufficient:

'That the Receivers of the Public Revenues should collect the First Fruits and Tenth in their respective Counties, and pay the same into the Exchequer; and that if these were not sufficient to make up 20,000 *l. per Annum* for the Purposes

Inter-regnum.

1649.

June.

aforesaid, that the Deficiency should be made good out of some other Part of the Public Revenues :

‘ That after the Expiration of the several Leases of the said Tythes, &c. such Quantities thereof should be given to the Incumbent of each Church or Chapel, as, with his present Tythes, should make up 100*l. per Annum*; and where the Tythes so to be annexed should not be sufficient for that Purpose, such Proportion of the Overplus of other appropriate Tythes, &c. should be applied to make good the Deficiency.

‘ The Commissioners of the Great Seal were required to issue forth Commissions into all the Counties in *England* and *Wales*, to such Persons as should be appointed by Parliament; impowering them, by all lawful Means, to find out the true annual Value of all Ecclesiastical Livings, and to make their Return into the Chancery, with the Names of the Incumbents, what each had for his Salary, how many Chapels belonged to one Parish, how situated, which of them fit to be united, and how the Churches and Chapels were supplied with preaching Ministers, in order to a better Provision for the Parochial Clergy.

But out of a special Regard to their Speaker, *William Lenthall*, Esq; it was provided, ‘ That this Act should not extend to the Rectory of *Burford*, in *Oxfordshire*, and Glebe Lands settled on him and his Heirs.’

June 11. An Adjournment of the House being proposed for some Time, it was referred to the Council of State to prepare and present to them such Things as were necessary and fit to be considered of, and passed there, before an Adjournment; and to report their Opinion, with all Speed, to the House.

June 12. A Report was made to the House of an Estimate of the Charge of the Summer’s and Winter’s Guard at Sea, with the Number of Men employed

Of ENGLAND. 133

employed for them; which will give some Idea of the different State of Naval Affairs in these Times and our own.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
June.

June 6, 1649.

An ESTIMATE of the whole Charge and Expence of the Navy, for one whole Year, and so from Year to Year, for every Year, so long as the Service shall necessarily require so great Fleets for the Summer and Winter Guards.

Estimates of the
annual Charge of
the Navy.

	l.	s.	d.
F OR 6000 Men, for the Summer's Guard, for eight Months	168000	00	00
For 3000 Men, for the Winter's Guard, six Months	75000	00	00
For the ordinary Charge of <i>Chatham, Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth</i> , in Victuals, Wages, and Stores, for ordinary Repairs	30000	00	00
For the Charge of building three new Frigates	10000	00	00

Total 283000 00

June 9, 1649.

An ESTIMATE of the Charge in setting forth to Sea, in warlike Manner, for six Months Service, so many of the State's Ships and Pinnaces as shall be mann'd with 3000 Men, for this ensuing Winter's Guard.

F OR grounding, graving, and fitting so many Ships as shall be mann'd with 3000 Men, in their Carpentry, joined and painted Works	2700	00	00
For Price of 300 Tons of Cordage, for Rigging, Ground-Tackle, and Sea Stores for the said Ships, at 30 <i>l.</i> per Ton	9000	00	00
For petty Provisions for Boat-swain and Carpenters Stores	2000	00	00

Carried over 13700 00
I 3 For

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	<i>Brought over</i>	13700	0	0
Inter-regnum. 1649.	For Anchors, Boats, and Sails for the said Ships	2500	0	0
June.	For Prest and Conduct-Money for 2000 Men, viz. 1200 Men in and about <i>London</i> , at 4 <i>s.</i> each, and 800 Men in remote Parts, at 12 <i>s.</i> each, Presting Charges included	720	0	0
	For Harbour Victuals for 800 Men, for 42 Days, at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>ob.</i> <i>per</i> <i>Diem</i>	1190	0	0
	For Harbour Wages for the said Men, the same Time, at 25 <i>s.</i> each <i>per Menssem</i>	1400	0	0
	For Sea Victuals for the said Men, for six Months Service, at 10 <i>d.</i> each <i>per Menssem</i>	21000	0	0
	For Sea Wages for the said 3000 Men, for the aforesaid Time, at 25 <i>s.</i> a Man <i>per Menssem</i>	22500	0	0
	For Land and Water Carriage of Provisions from <i>London</i> to <i>Dept-</i> <i>ford</i> , <i>Chatham</i> , <i>Woolwich</i> , and <i>Portsmouth</i> , <i>per Estimate</i>	500	0	0
	For ordinary and extraordinary Pilotage in and out, <i>per Estimate</i>	250	0	0
	For 2500 Tons of Ballast, at 12 <i>d.</i> <i>per Ton</i>	125	0	0
	For physical Drugs and Medica- ments for Surgeons Chests, as the State's free Gift	150	0	0
	For extraordinary Entertainment of Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals, on the Coast of <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	1932	0	0
	For Travelling-Charges to fit the Ships to Sea, and to make Pay to the Ships Companies, at the End of the Service	500	0	0
	<i>Carried over</i>	66467	0	0
			For	

	l.	s.	d.	Inter-regnum. 1649. June.
Brought over	664	67	0 0	
For Conduct-Money, in Dis- charge of 2000 Men; viz. 1200 at 4s. and 800 at 10s. each	1080	0 0		
For Powder, Shot, and all Sorts of Munition for fitting to Sea so many Ships as shall carry 3000 Men	7500	0 0		
Total	75047	0 0		

June 13. The Care of the late King's Children had been committed to the Countess of *Leicester*, by the House, and they had received a Letter from this Lady, desiring some Regulations as to her Conduct to them: On which the House this Day voted, ' That the late King's Children should sit with the Earl and Countess of *Leicester*, at their Table, as Part of their Family, and not otherwise: And that the said Earl and Countess do take Care that no other Observance or Ceremony be used to those Children, than to Noblemen's Children of this Nation.

June 14. Very little done in the House this Day, the Speaker, with all the Members of the Council of State attending the Funeral of Dr. *Dorisslaus*, who was buried, with much Ceremony, at *Westminster*.

Whilst the House was reducing the Estate of the Remains of the unhappy Royal Family, as before observ'd, they took Care to aggrandize that of their Friends and Fellow-Labourers in the great Work of overturning the Constitution. Serjeant *Bradshaw*, who sat as President in the High Court of Justice, at the Trial of the King, merited their highest Regard for that important Service: Accordingly he was made Lord President^a of the new Council

For rewarding
the Parliament's
Friends,

^a A Motion made on the 14th of February last, for appointing a Lord President of the Council of State, was then over-ruled; but afterwards agreed to.

136 *The Parliamentary HISTORY*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

June.

cil of State; and this Day, *June 19*, the House voted 2000*l. per Ann.*^b to be settled on him and his Heirs; and 1000*l.* to be forthwith paid him, towards his Charges expended in the Service of the State. Soon after he was made Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, for the Counties of *Chester, Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery*, and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*. Large Grants of Lands and Sums of Money were also voted to Members of the House, and others, out of Crown and Deans and Chapters Lands, forfeited Estates, &c. many Instances of which now frequently occur in the *Journals*.

For the Recovery
of Ireland,

June 22. A Report from the Council of State was this Day heard in the House; in which was included a Commission, constituting Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commander in Chief over the Forces in *Ireland*, and Governor-General of *Ireland*. This being read, in *Latin and English*, the House voted, 'That the Civil and Military Power in *Ireland* shall be, for the present, conjoined in one Person; and that the Time of the Continuance of this Commission shall be for three Years. Instructions for this Commander were ordered to be prepared by the Council of State, and reported to the House with all Speed.

This Day, also, another Report was made from the Council of State, of their Opinion what Things were necessary to be considered on before the Recess of Parliament. Which of these were pass'd into Acts may be seen by the Titles of them in *Scobell's Collections*. The most material of them we have already given Abstracts of in the Proceedings of this Month.

And for Disposall
of the Crown
Lands.

July. The House having before disposed of the Personal Estates of the late King and his Family, went next upon the Disposall of the Castles, Houses, Manors, Parks, &c. belonging to the Crown. Amongst

^b Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 4000*l. per Annum*; but the *Journals* make it no more than 2000*l.*

Amongst these the Council of State referred it to the Parliament, that the following should not be sold, but kept for the public Use of the Commonwealth, viz. *Whitehall - House, Westminster - Palace, St. James's Park, St. James's House, Somerset-House, Hampton-Court* and the *House-Park, Theobalds* and the *Park, Windsor* and the little *Park* next the *House, Greenwich-House* and *Park and Castle,* and *Hyde-Park.* Also that the new *Park* at *Richmond,* in *Surrey,* be settled upon the *City of London,* as an Act of Favour from the House, for the Use of the *City* and their Successors. This Proposal from the Council of State was confirm'd by a Resolution of Parliament.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
July.

July 2. This Day a Letter, subscribed by the Lord *Loudon,* Chancellor and President of the Parliament of *Scotland,* dated at *Edinburgh, June 26, 1649,* was read. After which it was ordered to be referred to the Council of State, to consider how the Demands formerly made by the Parliament of *Scotland,* may be prosecuted, and this Parliament, with their Proceedings, vindicated from the Aspersions in this Letter. The Council having delivered in their Opinion two Days after, the House voted, 'That the said Letter was of such a Nature as laid an Incapacity of prosecuting the former Demands by way of Treaty.' And the Council of State were ordered to draw up a Declaration to that Purpose, and present it to the House.

July 14. The said Declaration being perfected, was this Day presented to the House, and read once; and the Question being put, Whether to read it a second Time? the House divided, Yeas 25, Noes 13; on which it was read again, passed on that Reading, and ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

This Declaration, which is very singular in its Kind, and recapitulates the whole Dispute which had just before happened between the two Kingdoms, not being printed in the *Journals,* or elsewhere

138 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

A Series of Papers which pass'd between the Parliaments of England and Scotland, touching the late Proceedings against the King, &c.

where that we know of, we shall give from the Edition of the Times^a: And, in order to illustrate the Matter thereof, prefix some Papers^b that had passed between the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which were purposely omitted under their respective Dates, as coming more properly together, at one View, in this Place.

It may be remembered that on the 24th of *February* last, the *Scots* Commissioners residing in *London*, presented a Paper to the Parliament, which gave such Offence, that they ordered those Commissioners to be apprehended, &c. Hereupon the Parliament of *Scotland* sent the following Remonstrance, address'd thus, *To William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the Commons House at Westminster*, which was read on the 14th of *March*, and referred to the Consideration of the Council of State:

S I R,

Edinburgh, March 6, 1649.

HAVING seen a Paper of the 24th of *February* last, given in to you by our Commissioners, with a printed Paper thereupon of the 26th of *February*, intituled, *A Declaration of the Parliament of England*, declaring the aforesaid Paper, given in by our Commissioners, to contain reproachful Matter against the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, and assuming Power over the Laws and Government of that Nation, with a Design to raise Sedition, and lay the Grounds of a new War in that Land; and further ordering a Message to be sent to us, to know whether we will own the said Paper presented in our Names: And hearing that our Commissioners (being, by Command from us, upon their Return from that Kingdom) are restrained, and a Guard set upon them, we could not be so far wanting in that Duty we owe to this Kingdom, and the Care and Regard which, in Justice and Honour, we ought to have of the Safety and

Free-

^a Printed by *Edward Husbands*.

^b Printed for *Matthew Simmons*, in *Aldersgate-street*.

' Freedom of those employed in so public a Trust,
 ' as not to take special Notice of their Condition
 ' and hard Usage; and have therefore resolved and
 ' thought fit to signify to you, that we do own that
 ' Paper given in by our Commissioners, as agree-
 ' able to the Instructions which they had from us;
 ' wherein we, and they in our Names, could not
 ' but give a Testimony against those Things which
 ' we conceive to be contrary to the Grounds and
 ' Bands so often declared and acknowledged by
 ' both Kingdoms; lest our Silence be esteemed a
 ' Compliance, or we thought anywise accessary to
 ' these great Alterations, and the dangerous Con-
 ' sequences which may ensue thereupon.

Inter-regnum,
1649.

July.

' And as our Protestation, in the last Session of
 ' Parliament, against the last unlawful Engage-
 ' ment; our Act of this Parliament, declining and
 ' repealing the same, and every Thing done in
 ' Pursuance thereof; and our whole Proceedings,
 ' before and since, are sufficient and real Evidences
 ' of our sincere Desires and constant Resolutions
 ' to continue Union and Peace between the King-
 ' doms, according to the Covenant and Treaties:
 ' So it is very far from our Intentions to assume
 ' any Power over the Laws and Government
 ' of *England*, or any way to raise Sedition, or lay
 ' the Grounds of a new War, or do any Thing,
 ' in pursuance of the late unlawful Engagement;
 ' which can no way be inferred from the said Paper,
 ' containing only our Adherence to our former
 ' Principles acknowledged by both Kingdoms, and
 ' it being given in to you to be communicated in
 ' the ordinary Way.

' We are so tender of the Union between the
 ' Nations, that we think the remonstrating of the
 ' Breach of Peace, the craving of just Reparations,
 ' and using all amicable and fair Means, should be
 ' first essay'd before any Engagement in a War;
 ' which even then cannot be done by either King-
 ' dom, without a Breach of the Large Treaty, un-
 ' less it be upon three Months Warning preced-
 ' ing; upon which, among other Grounds and
 ' Rea-

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

Reasons, we did protest and declare against the late Engagement; and do confidently expect the like from *England*, according to the Papers given in by their Commissioners to the preceeding Session of Parliament: And however any prevalent Party in either Kingdom hath infringed, or may break these Bonds, yet we do not conceive it either agreeable to God's Will, or conducive to the Welfare of these Nations, to lay these sacred Ties aside as dissolv'd and cancell'd; but rather that they should be preserv'd for the Good of both Kingdoms, and Benefit of those who have no Accession to such Breaches, and of succeeding Generations, who are innocent thereof, and may sustain manifold Inconveniences by Dissolution of the same.

Having thus cleared our Intentions and Resolutions, we hope none can justly blame this Nation for continuing constant to their former Engagement and Principles, which the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of *England* professed also to be theirs, when they induced this Kingdom to enter into Solemn League and Covenant with them; far less can it be any Ground at all for the restraining our Commissioners contrary to the public Faith and Law of Nations, by which the Freedom of Ambassadors and Commissioners is sacred and inviolable, not only betwixt Christians but even amongst Heathen Kingdoms and States; and therefore we desire that our Commissioners may be free from all Restraint, that they may, without any Stop or Molestation, return in what Way they think most fit, to give us an Account of their Proceedings. In Confidence whereof we remain

Your affectionate Friends,

LOUDON, *Cancellarius,*
Præses Parliamenti.

To this Remonstrance the House gave no Answer; but, in *May* following, ordered their Speaker to

Of ENGLAND. 141

to write a Letter to the Parliament of Scotland; Inter-regnum.
1649.
which was in hæc Verba:

July.

Westminster, May 23, 1649.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am commanded by the Parliament of England to desire your Lordship to acquaint the Parliament of Scotland, that they have many Things of just Resentment, on the Behalf of this Nation and Commonwealth, to make known, and demand Satisfaction in, from the Parliament and People of Scotland, the Particulars whereof they think not needful to mention at this Time, being Things so generally known and fresh in Memory: And being desirous, in the first Place, to endeavour for Satisfaction in a peaceable Way, they do therefore propound, That Commissioners, on the Behalf of each Nation respectively, may be appointed to meet in some fitting and convenient Place, mutually to be agreed upon, with what convenient Speed may be; unto which Meeting Commissioners shall be sent, fully authorized, from the Parliament of England, and on the Behalf of this Commonwealth, with Instructions to make known the Particulars which they have to complain of; wherein if they shall receive Satisfaction, the Parliament of England are willing, and their Commissioners shall be further authorized and instructed to treat and conclude a firm and strict League of Amity and Friendship between the two Nations; by Means whereof, if it be the Will of God, these Nations may be preserved in a lasting Peace and happy Enjoyment of Religion in its Purity, together with their Civil Liberties, notwithstanding the many wicked Designs that are on Foot against them, as well by secret as professed Enemies of both.

This is all I have in Charge, save only to desire that the Parliament of Scotland's Answer
hereunto

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

‘ hereunto may be returned by this Bearer, who is
‘ sent Express about the same; and so rests

Your humble Servant,

WILLIAM LENTHALL,
Speaker of the Parliament of England.

This Letter produced the following Answer, addressed to the Speaker, as before; which gave Occasion to the subsequent Declaration of the Parliament of *England*.

S I R, *Edinburgh, June 26, 1649.*

‘ **T**HE Estates of Parliament of this Kingdom
‘ have received a Letter, dated the 23d of
‘ *May* 1649, signed by you as Speaker of the Par-
‘ liament, and written in the Name of the Com-
‘ monwealth of *England*; which Titles, in regard
‘ of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Trea-
‘ ties, and the many Declarations of the Parlia-
‘ ments of both Kingdoms, are such as they may
‘ not acknowledge.

‘ And for the Matter therein contained; the
‘ many Things of just Resentment, wherein Satis-
‘ faction is demanded from this Kingdom, are on-
‘ ly mentioned in the general, and therefore can-
‘ not so well receive a particular Answer; but if
‘ by those general Expressions, the late unlawful
‘ Engagement against *England* be understood, they
‘ desire that their Protestation against the same in
‘ Parliament, and the Opposition made thereunto
‘ by them afterwards in Arms, (which they never
‘ laid down untill the Garrisons of *Berwick* and
‘ *Carlisle* were restored to the Kingdom of *Eng-
‘ land*) may be remembered, together with the
‘ Letter of the House of Commons to the General
‘ Assembly of this Kirk, of the third of *August*,
‘ 1648: And what Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*,
‘ authorized from both Houses of Parliament, did,
‘ upon the 5th of *October* last, represent to the
‘ Committee of Estates of this Kingdom of *Scot-
‘ land*

land in that Engagement; and thereupon did demand that they would give Assurance, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to admit or suffer any, who had been active in, or consenting to, that Engagement, to be employed in any public Place or Trust whatsoever; which was not only granted and confirmed in Parliament, but all Acts for Prosecution of that Engagement have been repealed, and all Proceedings tending thereunto publickly disclaimed; and if any other Wrongs shall be made known unto us, we shall be ready to return such an Answer as may give just Satisfaction.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

If the Bonds of Religion, Loyalty to the King, and mutual Amity and Friendship betwixt the Kingdoms be impartially considered, according to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Professions and Declarations of both Kingdoms, the Estates of Parliament think they have just Cause to complain of the late Proceedings in *England*, in reference to Religion, the taking away the King's Life, and the Change of the Fundamental Government of that Kingdom; against which this Kirk and Kingdom, and their Commissioners, have protested and given Testimony, whereunto they do still adhere.

And since it is apparent there hath been of late, in *England*, a Backsliding and Departure from the Grounds and Principles wherein the two Kingdoms have been engaged, the Parliament of this Kingdom doth propound that the late Proceedings there, against Covenant and Treaties, may be disclaimed and disavowed, as the Prosecution of the late unlawful Engagement against *England* hath been disclaimed and disavowed here; and that such as have departed from these Principles and their former Professions, may return to the same: Upon these Grounds they are content to authorize Commissioners, on Behalf of this Kingdom, to treat with Commissioners from both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, sitting in Freedom, concerning all Matters of just Complaint

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘plaint which either Nation may have against the
 ‘other, and for Redress and Reparation thereof;
 ‘and to do every Thing that may further conduce
 ‘to continuing the happy Peace and Union be-
 ‘twixt the Kingdoms, which can never be settled
 ‘on so sure a Foundation as the former Treaties,
 ‘and the Solemn League and Covenant; from
 ‘which, as no Alteration or Revolution of Affairs
 ‘can absolve either Kingdom, so we trust in God,
 ‘that no Success whatsoever, whether good or bad,
 ‘shall be able to divert us; but as it hath been
 ‘our Care in Times past, it shall, with the Lord’s
 ‘Assistance, still be our real Endeavours for the
 ‘future to keep ourselves from all Compliance
 ‘with, or declining to the Popish, Prelatical, or
 ‘Malignant Party upon the one Hand, or to those
 ‘that are Enemies to the Fundamental Govern-
 ‘ment by King and Parliament, and countenance
 ‘and maintain Errors, Heresy, and Schism, upon
 ‘the other.

‘I have no other Thing in Command from the
 ‘Parliament of this Kingdom, but to take Notice,
 ‘that there is no Answer return’d to their Letter
 ‘of the 6th of *March* last; and so rests

Your humble Servant,

LOUDON, *Cancellarius,*
Præses Parliamenti.

DECLARATION of the Parliament of ENGLAND,
 concerning their late Endeavours, in a peaceable
 Way, to remove all Misunderstandings and Dif-
 ferences between the Commonwealth of ENGLAND,
 and the Kingdom of SCOTLAND.

‘**A**Lthough the Injuries done, and Provoca-
 ‘tions offered, unto this Nation by the King-
 ‘dom of *Scotland*, as well precedent as subsequent
 ‘to their last Year’s Invasion, have been such as
 ‘might, in Reason, have shut the Door upon all
 ‘amicable Offers to have arisen, especially on our
 ‘Part; yet, to manifest how unwilling we were
 ‘to

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘ to forget their former Conjunction with us in the
 ‘ asserting and defending of Religion, and the pub-
 ‘ lic Liberties and Rights of both Nations, against
 ‘ the common Enemy; and how ready we should
 ‘ still be in prosecution of the same Cause, to main-
 ‘ tain a firm Friendship with them, that thereby
 ‘ the Enemies of our Religion and Liberties might
 ‘ be disappointed of their wicked and dangerous
 ‘ Designs, long since contrived, and to this Day
 ‘ dextrously pursued, to the utter Ruining of both
 ‘ Nations, at least the well-affected and conscien-
 ‘ tious Party in both, through the dividing them,
 ‘ and engaging them in irreconcilable Animosities
 ‘ and Differences among themselves; we were con-
 ‘ tent to propound unto the Parliament of *Scotland*,
 ‘ by a Letter of ours sent unto them, bearing Date
 ‘ the 23d of *May* last past, that Commissioners
 ‘ might be respectively appointed, as well on the
 ‘ Behalf of this Commonwealth, as in Behalf of
 ‘ the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to meet with what con-
 ‘ venient Speed might be; at which Meeting the
 ‘ Particulars of the just Resentment, for which we
 ‘ demanded Satisfaction, should be produced; and,
 ‘ if Satisfaction were therein given, we should be
 ‘ further willing to treat and conclude a firm League
 ‘ and Friendship with them, for the Ends expressed
 ‘ in the said Letter, unto which we refer our-
 ‘ selves.

‘ But unto this fair and friendly Overture of ours,
 ‘ no Return will serve the Parliament of that King-
 ‘ dom, but that which lays an Incapacity upon us
 ‘ of prosecuting our former Demands in a Way of
 ‘ Treaty, not only by the Aspersions which they
 ‘ cast upon the Honour and Justice of our late Pro-
 ‘ ceedings, but by their public and professed Dis-
 ‘ acknowledgment of the present Government of
 ‘ this Nation, established by Parliament, and their
 ‘ refusing to treat upon any other Terms than our
 ‘ Return back to Regal Government and a House
 ‘ of Lords, both which we have abolished, as what
 ‘ was found by Experience to be useless and ob-
 ‘ VOL. XIX. K structive

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘structive to that Freedom and Security which the
 ‘People of *England*, after all these Labours and
 ‘Expences, have merited.

‘This unequal Procedure of theirs, in Requitall
 ‘of such amicable Addressses to them, we could not
 ‘have expected from that Appearance of Wisdom
 ‘and Piety, which the Actions of that Nation
 ‘come usually cloathed with; nor do we know well
 ‘what to impute it to, unless it be either to some
 ‘extraordinary Passion raised in them from an Apprehension that the Change of Things here will deprive them, for the future, of those Benefits and Advantages which they enjoyed and promised themselves among us in Continuance of Kings over this Nation, which they cannot so suddenly digest; or whether we may impute it to a politic Design of stirring ill Humours, and strengthening the Hands of a discontented Party among ourselves, whom by no Means they will absolve from a conscientious Obligation, by virtue of the Covenant, of adhering to Foreigners, against the established Government of this Nation; but, rather than fail, do furnish them with the Example of their own Practice the last Year, when a Party among themselves took Arms against the Resolutions of their own Parliament, to oppose, as they pretended, the unlawful Engagement against *England*: Altho’ the Question was not so much, as we are credibly inform’d, whether *England* should be invaded or engaged against, but what Party among them should have this Trust committed to them.

‘These, or the like Grounds, we suppose have moved them to that Answer which their last Letter sends us, bearing Date the 26th of *June*, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, wherein they do in the first Place tell him, *That they neither may acknowledge him Speaker of the Parliament of England, nor the Name of Commonwealth to this Nation*; as if to be Speaker of the Parliament of *England*, and for this Nation
 ‘to

‘ to dispose itself in the Way of a Common-
 ‘ wealth, without King or House of Lords, did de-
 ‘ pend upon their Allowance or Disallowance; and
 ‘ as if we alone, of all other Nations, had wanting
 ‘ to us the natural Right and inherent Power to
 ‘ take up or lay down what Form of Government
 ‘ we think fit, and judge most conduible to our
 ‘ own Preservation, Safety, and Welfare, without
 ‘ asking or obtaining the Consent of those that are
 ‘ without us, and foreign to us.

Inter-regnum.
 1649.

July.

‘ And the Reason why they may not acknow-
 ‘ ledge these Titles, is, *in regard of the Solemn*
 ‘ *League and Covenant and Treaties, and the many*
 ‘ *Declarations of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.*
 ‘ An Argument, we confess, which hath been
 ‘ often used and alledged by them, as if, of course,
 ‘ it would serve the Turn of bringing in their Inte-
 ‘ rest upon us, under Pretence of Religion; when-
 ‘ as otherwise, in the Balance of sound Reason,
 ‘ the little Weight of it would appear. But these
 ‘ Pretences have so often been unmask’d, and the
 ‘ Ungroundedness of such Inferences from Covenant
 ‘ and Treaties detected, that it shall suffice us to
 ‘ refer ourselves to what already hath been said by
 ‘ us on this Subject long since, in our Declaration
 ‘ of Nov. 28, 1646, and lately in another, dated
 ‘ Feb. 17, 1648, both of them transmitted by us
 ‘ to the Parliament of Scotland. In which Respect
 ‘ we cannot but wonder how the Covenant, Trea-
 ‘ ties, and Declarations mentioned, should come
 ‘ to be urged and applied afresh in this Letter, un-
 ‘ less they conceive that the touching upon this
 ‘ String is so plausible to some deluded Minds
 ‘ among us, that there will need no more than a
 ‘ bare Affirmation to gain Credit thereunto with
 ‘ such Persons, for whose Sake we have thought
 ‘ good to make this further Reply:

‘ That it neither can nor will be made appear
 ‘ by any Thing expressed in the Covenant, Trea-
 ‘ ties, or Declarations that have passed the Parlia-
 ‘ ment of England, that the Parliament hath ex-

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

cluded or debarr'd itself from the Use and Exercise of that Right and Power which is inseparable from it, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this Nation, to alter, repeal, make void in whole or in part, any Thing whatsoever appertaining to the Government of this Nation, within itself, as they shall judge requisite and necessary from Time to Time. And, certainly, could any such Expression have escaped them, that might have been strained into any such injurious Sense, which we are sure hath not, yet it is not to be imagined that any Covenant, Treaty, or Declaration in that Behalf, could be binding in Things that a Parliament cannot give away from itself, but would be destructive to the very Ends for which Parliaments are. Unto both which Considerations this yet remains to be added, That whatever Force or Vigour might have been drawn and urged from the said Covenant, Treaties, and Declarations, to serve for this, or any other Use by the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Invasion which last Year was made by the Parliament of that Kingdom, (by God's Blessing so timely and happily defeated) hath cancell'd and made invalid, as to any Obligation upon *England*, untill we shall think fit to give new Life and Being to them: Wherein we have Reason to be the more careful and cautious, finding how dangerous Constructions and Inferences are endeavoured to be put upon them, upon all Occasions, thereby to entitle the Kingdom of *Scotland* to a pretensive Power over the Laws and Liberties of *England*.

And as to that which we are desired to remember concerning what hath been done by the Persons that have present Power and Parliamentary Authority of *Scotland*, (when estated therein thro' the Assistance of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and the Forces under his Command) to the disclaiming those Proceedings against *England*, by that unlawful Engagement; we answer, That the Remembrance of this doth not at all expiate and satisfy

* satisfy for the actual Wrong and Violence perpetrated upon this Nation by the Parliament of Scotland, who were the Authors and Orderers of that Engagement; and have thereby rendered the Kingdom of Scotland responsible, not only for the Wrong and Injury done, but to the Recompence of those great Damages which England hath sustained by the same; which we were desirous, among other Things, to have received Satisfaction for in a Way of Treaty, so hastily declined and rejected by the present Parliament of Scotland, in their last Letter, as if it were reasonable for the Parliament of that Kingdom to do Wrong, but not reasonable for the Parliament of England so much as to demand Satisfaction for that Wrong, though in the fairest and most peaceable Way. And how can we expect Satisfaction to be given to any other Injuries done to this Nation, when they shall by us be made known to them, as they seem now to invite, when as to that which is so manifest and notorious, as the last Year's Invasion, we have no other Redress afforded but Recrimination, which the latter Part of their Letter is filled with, and may be reduced to these two Heads?

First, ' To their adhering unto, and now the second Time avowing, those Scandals and Reproaches laid upon the present Government of England, in a Paper of their Commissioners, dated Feb. 24, 1648, subscribed by the Earl of Lothian, Sir John Chiesley, and Mr. Glendinning, in the Name of the Kingdom of Scotland; upon Perusal and Consideration whereof, we then passed our Sense of it in a short Declaration. Unto which we shall only add, That if the Bonds of Religion and Faithfulness to the Trust reposed in both Parliaments be impartially considered, we cannot but think that the Consideration thereof would have been a far better Inducement to the Parliament of Scotland to have accepted the Proposals made by us in our last Letter, as a Means for the

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘two Nations to have grown up into a firm League
 ‘and Amity; thereby to have secured Religion and
 ‘public Liberty from the Designs of Popish, Pre-
 ‘lati- cal, and Malignant Factions, than, by this
 ‘their late Carriage towards us, to have put the
 ‘two Nations at such a Distance, and, at best, Un-
 ‘usefulness of each to other, as serves only to do
 ‘the Work of the common Enemy, by weakening
 ‘us through our own Divisions: Wherein we are
 ‘sure, whatever Charge they lay upon us, they
 ‘have not shewn themselves stedfast and true to
 ‘those Grounds which were the Causes not only
 ‘of uniting both Nations in the so-often-mention’d
 ‘Covenant and Treaties, made without and a-
 ‘gainst Consent of the late King, but also of their
 ‘engaging in a War against him for the Attain-
 ‘ment of those Ends.

‘And the Improvement of this Principle in pur-
 ‘suance of our Trust, is not therefore to be com-
 ‘plained of, because it justifies our late Proceed-
 ‘ings, which have out-gone what *Scotland* hath
 ‘concurred in with us, no more now than before,
 ‘when it upheld those joint Resolutions which car-
 ‘ried out them and us together in a War against
 ‘the late King and his Party, and in that Answer
 ‘of both Kingdoms, *That we could not give our*
 ‘*Consent to his Majesty’s Return and Exercise of*
 ‘*his Regal Office, till he had first given Satisfac-*
 ‘*tion to his Kingdoms for the innocent Blood of his*
 ‘*good Subjects that had been spilt in all his Domi-*
 ‘*nions, by his Command and Commission, and for*
 ‘*the War in Ireland by him fomented and prolong’d.*

‘To the second Head of their Reerimination,
 ‘wherein they tell us, *That it is apparent there*
 ‘*hath been of late, in England, a Backsliding and*
 ‘*Departure from the Grounds and Principles where-*
 ‘*in the two Kingdoms first engaged,* we answer,
 ‘That before so heavy a Charge had been so posi-
 ‘tively fasten’d on us, it would have been agree-
 ‘able to Reason and Justice that a little Pains had
 ‘been taken in briefly reminding us of those Prin-
 ‘ciples

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

‘ ciples from which they accuse us to have depart-
‘ ed. For it is not apparent to us, after a very se-
‘ rious Consideration of all that hath been offered
‘ from the Parliament of *Scotland*, that there hath
‘ been a Backsliding from those Principles (pro-
‘ perly so called) upon which the two Nations first
‘ engaged; but, on the contrary, we doubt not
‘ but to make it evident to all, not prejudiced, that
‘ we have been so far from going back, that we
‘ have gone forward in the Prosecution of them:
‘ And the Distance between us and *Scotland* arises
‘ not from our backsliding from those Principles,
‘ but from their standing still and not pursuing the
‘ common End which we propounded to ourselves
‘ when we mutually engaged; which was the Se-
‘ curity of Religion and the public Liberties of the
‘ Nations above all other Things; and all other
‘ Things, as they are consistent with, and subser-
‘ vient unto, them. And we know that, in all
‘ Things, the End, before other Principles, is first
‘ intended; which whilst it is adhered unto, a
‘ Freedom is allowed to make Use of all fit and re-
‘ quisite Means to attain that End: And therefore
‘ the End of all Government being the Good of
‘ the People, in which Good the right Knowledge
‘ and Worship of God is especially comprized, the
‘ Ground of all Change must be, as it hath been
‘ with us, in order to those Ends which were the
‘ Principles that the two Nations did mutually en-
‘ gage upon; and which will certainly rise up in
‘ Judgment against them, if they be wilfully decli-
‘ ned and departed from by either of them. We
‘ must be careful, therefore, that we mistake not
‘ Principles for Superstructures, for the End is the
‘ first and perfect Principle; the Means are but
‘ subordinate and subject to Change, as oft as they
‘ prove ineffectual to the End.

‘ And whereas they esteem a positive Constitution
‘ of Government to be a Principle, and the Adhe-
‘ rence to it to be of Conscience, altho’ changed
‘ by the Supreme Authority; upon Examination it
‘ will be found, that herein they more establish the
‘ Interest

152 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘ Interest of the Governors than the Good of the
‘ Governed; and that wherever the People’s Wel-
‘ fare is preferred before the particular Interests of
‘ them that govern, it hath not been unusual in those
‘ Nations to lay aside precedent Forms of Govern-
‘ ment, and introduce others; although they allow
‘ not us, upon the same equitable Ground, to
‘ change from Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

‘ And because the Parliament of Scotland doth
‘ propound, *That the late Proceedings in England,*
‘ *against Covenants and Treaties, may be disclaimed*
‘ *and disavowed, as the Prosecution of the late un-*
‘ *lawful Engagement against England was by them;*
‘ *and that such as have departed from those Prin-*
‘ *ciples, and their former Professions, may return*
‘ *unto the same:* We conceive that this Proposal
‘ might have been spared, till either they had con-
‘ vinced us that our Proceedings did deserve such
‘ disclaiming, or at least till we had been brought to
‘ the same Straits with them, when they disavow’d
‘ to us the last Year’s Engagement; which was
‘ not done by the visible Authority of that Nation,
‘ till the Scots Army was overthrown in *England,*
‘ and that a considerable Force of ours was in their
‘ Kingdom, in pursuit of that Victory.

‘ They tell us further, *That no Alteration or Re-*
‘ *volution of Affairs can absolve either Nation from*
‘ *the Covenant and Treaties, &c.* We cannot ad-
‘ mit of this Doctrine, having so fresh in Memory
‘ the last Year’s open Hostility of that Kingdom
‘ against *England;* and being not at all secured,
‘ (however the contrary be as yet professed) but
‘ that those who are already so easily disposed to
‘ entertain Prejudice, and declare so unjust Cen-
‘ sures upon our late Proceedings, may in short
‘ Time be drawn, in their Zeal, to uphold Mo-
‘ narchy; and, by their own Sense of the Cove-
‘ nant, to join avowedly with the common Enemy,
‘ the Papists, Prelates, and Malignants; whose
‘ Power and pernicious Designs to obviate and op-
‘ pose, was the chief End of the Covenant and
‘ Treaties: And should they hapen to fall into
‘ such

‘such an Alteration and Revolution as this, we presume that we shall then stand absolved in their Judgment, as we do now in our own.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

‘And we shall wish that some contrary Necessity do not incline them to the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, as well as their Necessity the last Year brought them not only to comply and join, but to be obliged for their Lives and Safeties, to those whom formerly they had declared against, as much as now they do, for a Sectarian Army.

‘This Account we have thought fit to give of our late Endeavours, in a peaceable Way, to prevent all Misunderstandings and Differences between us and *Scotland*. Out of which Course, if we be now diverted, we can truly say the Fault is not ours; and shall not doubt but that all in this Commonwealth, who desire Protection from it, and wish well to the Safety and Good of *England*, will be awakened to discern the Fallacy and Unsoundness of these Allegations against us and our Proceedings; and be forewarned of having Compliance with Designs of whatever Colour, that tend only to renew and foment our Divisions at home, and to promote foreign Advantages, by depriving ourselves of the Fruit and Benefit of all those Labours which we have undergone, these many Years, with the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure.’

After this the House employed the greatest Part of the Month in making necessary Preparations for the Expedition into *Ireland*: The Marquis of *Ormond* had advanced far in his Conquest of that Kingdom, and had actually laid Siege to *Dublin*, which made the Government on this Side very anxious about it. The Forces design’d to be employ’d against him, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, were ordered to embark forthwith; and he himself was to go with them, invested with all the Pomp and Regalities of a Deputy-Lieutenant-Ge-
neral *Cromwell* prepares to embark for *Ireland*.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

July.

Lieutenant of that Kingdom. The House also borrowed 150,000 *l.* more of the City of *London*, at Eight *per Cent.* and on the Credit of the Excise, for this Expedition; and ordered the 11th of *July* to be kept as a Day of public and solemn Fasting and Humiliation, throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, for the seeking Almighty God, for his especial Blessing upon the Forces now design'd and going for the Relief of *Ireland*. The same to be observed and kept in all Churches and Chapels, on a more distant Day, throughout all *England*, &c. And, in order to oblige the Clergy the more effectually to proclaim to their Congregations what the Parliament thought proper to direct, on the 9th of this Month the House pass'd the following Resolutions:

Orders for regulating the Conduct of the Clergy touching the State.

1. 'That if any Minister should, directly or indirectly, preach, or publicly pray, against the Power, Authority, or Proceedings of the Parliament, or the Government established by Authority thereof:

2. 'Or, in preaching or praying, to make Mention of *Charles Stuart* or *James Stuart*, Sons of the late King, (who, by Judgment of Parliament, were declared Enemies, and stood excepted from Pardon) otherwise than as the Enemies of this Commonwealth; or should, under the Name of Royal Issue, or otherwise, promote any Title or Interest, taken away or declared against by this Parliament, to the Prejudice of this present Government:

3. 'Or should not observe the Days of public Humiliation or Thanksgiving, appointed, or to be appointed, by Parliament; or not publish the Acts, Orders, or Declarations thereof, being enjoined and directed thereunto by Authority of the same, (having due Notice thereof, without reasonable Cause to the contrary) they should be adjudged Delinquents; and be within the respective Orders and Acts touching Sequestration, as to their Ecclesiastical Benefices and Stipends.'

We

We have already taken Notice of an Act, for selling the Goods and Personal Estate of the late King, Queen, and Prince: And, on the 16th of this Month, another was pass'd for the Sale of the Crown Lands, except such as were to be reserved for the Use of the State. The Preamble to this Act sets forth,

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

‘ That the Parliament of *England* having been
‘ necessitated, for their just and lawful Defence,
‘ and preserving of the Laws and Liberties of this
‘ Nation, to raise and maintain several Armies and
‘ Forces; by Reason whereof they have contract-
‘ ed very great Debts; and conceiving themselves
‘ engaged, both in Honour and Justice, to make due
‘ Satisfaction unto all Officers and Soldiers for their
‘ Arrears; taking also into Consideration the ma-
‘ ny great and faithful Services done and perform’d
‘ by those Forces, and more especially by the Ar-
‘ my under the Command of *Thomas Lord Fair-*
‘ *fax*; by which, through the Blessing of God on
‘ their Endeavours, the Parliament is put into a
‘ Capacity of settling the People of this Nation in,
‘ and restoring them unto, their just Liberties and
‘ Freedoms: And that whereas the late King,
‘ the Queen, and their eldest Son, have been the
‘ chief Authors of the late Wars and Troubles, by
‘ whom, in whose Behalf, and for whose Interest
‘ principally, the same hath been unjustly raised,
‘ fomented, continued, and renewed; and there-
‘ fore, in all Justice and Equity, ought to bear the
‘ Burden of the said Debts; and their Estates, in
‘ the first Place, to be applied to discharge the same;
‘ it being the Duty and especial Care and Endea-
‘ vour of the Parliament that the People should
‘ not in any sort be taxed and charged, but in Cases
‘ of inevitable Necessity, and when other Ways
‘ and Means are wanting: And that forasmuch
‘ as the Parliament, finding the Office of a King
‘ in this Nation to have been unnecessary, burden-
‘ some, and dangerous, hath utterly abolished the
‘ said Kingly Office.’

An Act pass’d for
Sale of the Crown
Lands;

Then

156 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

Then it proceeds to enact, That, for the better securing the Arrears of 600,000 *l.* due to the Army, and charged on the Excise, the same shall be charged on the Crown Lands, to be vested in Trustees for that Purpose, who were to keep Courts of Survey, and to appoint Stewards and other Officers till the Time of Sale : No Lands to be sold under thirteen Years Purchase ; nor a Lease granted for one Life under six Years and a half ; a Lease for two Lives, under three Years and a half ; and a Lease for three Lives, two Years and a half, &c. by the Agents or Contractors on the Part of the Parliament, appointed in the Act, whose Power and Instructions are amply set forth therein ; with Proviso's touching Forests and Timber Trees to be reserved for the Use of the Navy.

For declaring
Counterfeiting
of the Coin to
be High Treason ;

The next Day, *July 17*, an Act was pass'd, declaring what Offences shall be adjudg'd High Treason. It is observable that this Act is an exact literal Copy of another pass'd, under the same Title, the 14th of *May*, 1649, with the Addition of a single Paragraph only ; and yet no Reference is made in the one Act to the other, nor any Reason assign'd for re-enacting into a Law what had received that Sanction only two Months before. The Addition was, Extending the Penalties of High Treason, (except Corruption of Blood or Loss of Dower) to all such who should counterfeit, clip, wash, or impair the current Coin of the Commonwealth, or knowingly import false Money, in order to make Payment thereof.

For propagating
the Gospel in
New-England ;

On the 27th of this Month the Parliament pass'd an Act, for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in *New-England*. As the Preamble to this Act exhibits some Idea of the State of this, then Infant, Colony, we shall give it at large :

Whereas the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament, have received certain Intelligence,
by

by the Testimonial of divers faithful and godly Ministers, and others, in *New-England*, that divers the Heathen Natives of that Country, (thro' the Blessing of God upon the pious Care and Pains of some godly *English* of this Nation, who preach the Gospel to them in their own *Indian* Language) are not only of barbarous become civil; but many of them, forsaking their accustomed Charms and Sorceries, and other Satanical Delusions, do now call upon the Name of the Lord, and give great Testimony of the Power of God drawing them from Death and Darkness into the Life and Light of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, which appeareth by their diligent attending on the Word so preached unto them; with Tears lamenting their mis-spent Lives; teaching their Children what they are instructed in themselves; being careful to place their said Children in godly *English* Families, and to put them to *English* Schools; betaking themselves to one Wife, putting away the rest; and by their constant Prayers to Almighty God, Morning and Evening in their Families, expressed, in all Appearance, with much Devotion and Zeal of Heart: All which considered, we cannot but, in behalf of the Nation we represent, rejoice, and give Glory to God, for the Beginning of so glorious a Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst those poor Heathens, which cannot be prosecuted with that Expedition and further Success as is desired, unless fit Instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it; Universities, Schools, and Nurseries of Literature settled for further instructing and civilizing them; Instruments and Materials fit for Labour and Cloathing, with other Necessaries, as Encouragements for the best-deserving among them, be provided, and many other Things necessary for so great a Work; the furnishing of all which will be a Burden too heavy for the *English* there, who (although willing, yet unable) have in a great Measure exhausted their Estates in laying the Foundations of

many

Inter-regnum

1649.

July.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

July.

' many hopeful Towns and Colonies in a desolate
' Wilderness: And therefore conceiving ourselves
' of this Nation bound to be helpful in promoting
' and advancing of a Work so much tending to the
' Honour of Almighty God: Be it therefore en-
' acted, &c.'

By this Act a Corporation was established, consisting of a President, Treasurer, and fourteen Assistants, with Power to purchase Lands in Mortmain to the Amount of 2000 *l. per Annum*, to appoint a common Seal, make By-Laws, and receive charitable Contributions. A general Collection was ordered to be made throughout *England and Wales*; and the Ministers of every Parish were required to read this Act in their several Congregations, to exhort the People to a liberal Contribution, and to go from House to House for that Purpose.

And for the readier Sale of Deans and Chapters Lands.

July 31. The House pass'd an Act giving further Powers for the Sale of Deans and Chapters Lands. The Amendments and Alterations wherein make no small Part of the *Journals* of this Month. Mr. *Ludlow*^a remarks, ' That tho' the Trustees were authorized to sell the Lands at ten^b Years Purchase, yet such was the good Opinion the People had conceiv'd of the Parliament, that most of them were sold at the clear Income of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen Years; one half of the Sums contracted for being paid down in ready Money; besides which the Woods were valued distinctly, and to be paid for according to the Valuation.'

The Assessment of 90,000 *l.* continued three Months longer.

August. The Commons began this Month with a Vote for continuing the Assessment, of 90,000 *l. per Menssem* for three Months longer, viz. from the 29th of *September* ensuing, to the same Day in *December* next.

August

^a *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 299.

^b By the Act pass'd, April 30, 1649, for the Sale of Deans and Chapters Lands, they were not to be sold under twelve Years Purchase.

Scobell's Collections, p. 20.

August 3. To shew in how high a Degree of Credit and Honour this Fragment of a Parliament was held abroad, the following pompous Super-
 Inter-regnum.
 1649.
 August.
 scription and Conclusion of a Letter, sent to them from the Burgomasters and Senators of the City of *Hamburg*; is entered, by way of Precedent we suppose, in their *Journals*:

Illustrissimis, Excellentissimis, Nobilissimis, ac Magnificis Dominis, Dominis Celsissimæ Domus Parliamenti in Anglia Ordinibus, Dominis nostris Observandissimis; and subscribed thus, *Illustrissimarum vestrarum Generositatum & Dominatum Observandissimi atque Officiosissimi Proconsules & Senatores Civitatis Hamburgenfis.*
 The Manner of the Parliament's being addressed by the City of *Hamburg*.

Aug. 6. The House proceeded in framing a Declaration concerning the Maintenance of the Ministry and Church Government; and the Question being put that the Declarative Clause in the Act, touching the Presbyterian Government, be Part of the Declaration, the House divided; when the Numbers were found to be equal, 23 and 23, but the Speaker's Vote cast it in the Negative. Then it was ordered, That it be referred to a Committee, upon the Debate of the House, to consider of this Declaration, and to review the Book and Ordinances for settling Presbytery, and to bring it in with such Alterations as they shall think fit, with Lenity to tender Consciences.

Aug. 9. Two Bills were brought into the House this Day, one of them intituled, *An Act against seditious and scandalous News, Rumours, and Writings*; the other, *An Act against unlicensed and scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for the better regulating of Printing*. They were both read a first and second Time, and, upon the Question, committed.

The same Day the House heard a Report from the Council of State; and afterwards, upon the Motion of Mr. *Henry Martin*, ordered, That those Gentlemen who were appointed to have the Custody

Inter-regnum.
1649.

August.

Orders for melting down the Regalia, and demolishing the Statues, of the late King.

dy of the *Regalia*, do deliver them over to the Trustees for Sale of the Goods of the late King, Queen, and Prince, who are to cause the same to be totally broken; and that they melt down the Gold and Silver of them, and sell the Jewels for the best Advantage of the Commonwealth; and to take the like Care of those that were in the *Tower*. An Order was also made for taking down and demolishing the Arms of the late King in all public Places, and likewise all Statues of him, and Inscriptions.——So active were these Reformers of the State in obliterating all Marks of Regal Sovereignty.

A Cessation agreed on by Col. *Monck* with the *Irish* Rebels, censured by the House.

Aug. 10. An Affair relating to Colonel, afterwards the famous General, *Monck*, happened in the House this Day, which deserves our Notice. This Officer had been long employed in *Ireland* by the Parliament, and had lately made an Agreement for a Cessation of Arms with the *Irish* Rebels. The Colonel was questioned for this by the new Lord-Lieutenant in that Kingdom, and by him remitted over into *England*, with his Papers, to the Council of State, who referred him to the Parliament: And this Day, being called to the Bar to answer for his Offence, he owned the Fact, and said he did it on his own Score, perceiving it was for the Preservation of the *English* Interest there; and that they had reaped some Fruits thereof accordingly. After much Debate on this Business, the House came to the following Resolution:

‘ That this House doth utterly disapprove of the Proceedings of Col. *Monck*, in the Treaty and Cessation made between him and *Owen Roe O’Neile*; and that the innocent Blood, which had been shed in *Ireland*, is so fresh in the Memory of this House, that they do detest and abhor the Thoughts of closing with any Party of Popish Rebels there, who have had their Hands in shedding that Blood: Nevertheless, the House being satisfied that what Col. *Monck* had done therein, was, in his Apprehension, necessary for the Preservation of the Parliament

liament of *England's* Interest there, the House was content the further Consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside; and should not, at any Time hereafter, be call'd in Question.' The Colonel being again call'd in, the Speaker acquainted him with this Resolution.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

August.

Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 'That *Monck* was much discontented at the Proceedings in this Business in relation to himself, especially at some Passages highly reflecting on his Honour and Fidelity: That it was the Opinion of divers, either not to have question'd him in this Business at all, or, having once done it, never to employ him any more in the Service: But that the major Part carried it for beating him first, and then stroaking him; which some think he never forgot.'

Aug. 14. This Day the House received Letters from *Ireland*, brought by Capt. *Otway*, giving an Account of a great Victory obtained by their Forces there against the Marquis of *Ormond*. A Day of Thanksgiving was immediately appointed to be held on the 29th Inst. throughout all *England* and *Wales*, for this wonderful and seasonable Victory, vouchsafed by the Goodness of God to the Parliament's Forces, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Michael Jones*, Aug. 2, against the whole Army of the Rebels in *Ireland*, commanded by the Earl of *Ormond*, then besieging *Dublin*. A Declaration was also ordered to be drawn, of the Grounds and Reasons of the setting a-part the said Day of public Thanksgiving, and an Act for the due Observation thereof, the Care of which were left to Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Scot*. This Declaration and Narrative of the Battle and Victory, as also the Act, which were ordered to be printed and published, and a competent Number of them sent to every Sheriff of *England* and *Wales*, to be by them distributed to all the Ministers within their respective Jurisdictions, are too extraordinary to be omitted in this Work.

A great Victory gain'd over the Marquis of *Ormond*, in *Ireland*, by the Parliament's Forces commanded by Gen. *Jones*.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

August.

A DECLARATION and NARRATIVE of the Grounds and Reasons for setting a-part a Day of public Thanksgiving, to be kept on Wednesday the 29th of August, 1649.^b

A Thanksgiving
Day appointed on
that Occasion.

‘ Since the Time that the Lord brought up his People from the House of Bondage, by the Outgoings of his Almighty Power in Signs and Wonders, it can hardly be observed that ever his Almighty Arm was made more visibly bare in promoting, or that he hath, by more evident Demonstrations declared to the World, his Approbation and Owning of any Cause, than he hath done that in which this Parliament hath been engaged, for Asserting and Recovery of their just Rights and Liberties, with the Establishment of Truth and Righteousness, and Suppression and Removal of Tyranny, and all the Effects of it. And this hath been seen more evidently and absolutely since the Time that the Parliament hath engaged, most expressly and impartially, against the greatest and highest Enemies of Religion and Liberty.

‘ With what a Series of Mercies and Miracles, of Victories and Deliverances, we have been favoured from the Hand of our merciful God since the Battle of *Naseby* till this present, cannot, we hope, be so far out of either the Sense or Memory of any good Patriot, as to need a Recapitulation or Rehearsal. He hath made us to triumph over our Enemies, and wherein they dealt proudly he was above them; giving them Leave oft-times to swell their Waves, that he might set them Limits, and say unto them, *Hitherto shall ye come, and no further.* He hath made them feel the Liftings-up of his Hand, which they would not see; and by his own Almighty Wonder-working Power defeated their Strengths, and confounded them in their Confidences: When heightened to Assurances of undoubted Success, they have

^b From the original Edition, printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, August 16, 1649.

Inter-regnum
1649.

August.

‘ have promised themselves nothing but Victory,
 ‘ Spoil, and the full Harvest of their Hopes, then
 ‘ sudden Destruction hath befallen them from the
 ‘ Lord; and that so signally and beyond ordinary
 ‘ Providences, as if the Stars in their Courses had
 ‘ fought against them: When they have gone from
 ‘ Mountain to Hill to seek for Divinations against
 ‘ *Israel*, and call’d in *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Ama-*
 ‘ *leck*, and the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir* against
 ‘ the Worm *Jacob*; through the Power and Pre-
 ‘ sence of our God no Sorcery hath prevailed, no
 ‘ Weapon form’d against us hath prospered. The
 ‘ Lord hath declared to the World, that he is a
 ‘ God of Mountains and of Valleys, and every
 ‘ where a strong Rock, a mighty Defence, for those
 ‘ that serve and trust in him. Against all Persons,
 ‘ and in all Places, he hath appeared for us; as
 ‘ against the old professed Malignants and Royalists
 ‘ all along in *England*, and against the pretended
 ‘ Covenanters last Year from and in *Scotland*; so
 ‘ now of late most seasonably, and even miracu-
 ‘ lously, in *Ireland*, against both *Scots*, renegado
 ‘ *English*, and *Irish* formerly commanded by *Taaff*,
 ‘ *Preston*, *Clanrickard*, *Inchiquin*, and now united
 ‘ and grown into a numerous Army under the Apo-
 ‘ state *Ormond*; amounting in the whole, at their
 ‘ own Account, to 19,000 Men. Now when,
 ‘ by the Revolt of *Inchiquin*, all *Munster* was theirs;
 ‘ and, by the Force of *Clanrickard*, all *Connaught*;
 ‘ by the Defection of the *Scots*, and the Treachery
 ‘ of the *English* deserting their Trust, all *Ulster* was
 ‘ lost, except *Derry*; and *Leinster*, even to *Dublin*;
 ‘ when all the *English* Interest in *Ireland* was re-
 ‘ duced, and shut up in those two Towns, and the
 ‘ latter straitly besieged by so potent a Force, where-
 ‘ by the Enemy was arrived to such a Confidence,
 ‘ as that the Lord *Ormond* began to be solicitous,
 ‘ and full of Trouble to himself, what to do with
 ‘ our Men, when they should be in his Power,
 ‘ whereof he made no Doubt; inclining, as he
 ‘ said, to send them to the *Barbadoes* and our other
 ‘ Plantations, if sufficient Shipping could be gain’d;

164 *The Parliamentary HISTORY*

Inter-regnum.

1649.

August.

‘ and the Lord Taaff, to ease him of that Care,
 ‘ suggested, as an easier Expedient, the throwing
 ‘ them into the Sea: Such are the Mercies of the
 ‘ Wicked! Then, when they only staid but for
 ‘ the coming up of their additional Forces, to effect
 ‘ all this the more securely, *then the Lord look’d*
 ‘ *down from Heaven, the Habitation of his Holiness*
 ‘ *and his Glory, and defeated them; then he sent*
 ‘ *forth his Wrath, and consumed them as Stubble or*
 ‘ *as Chaff before the Wind: And thus hath he be-*
 ‘ *gun to avenge his Israel there, and visit for the*
 ‘ *Blood of his People shed in that Kingdom, with*
 ‘ *a Rage reaching up to Heaven; and therein given*
 ‘ *his Servants here Cause with triumphant Joy to*
 ‘ *sing, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the*
 ‘ *Gods? Who is like thee, glorious in Holiness, fear-*
 ‘ *ful in Praises, doing Wonders?*

‘ The Particulars of which wonderful Mercy,
 ‘ now given, are more fully and clearly certified in
 ‘ several Expresses from Lieutenant-General Jones,
 ‘ the principal and most honourable Instrument in
 ‘ the Hand of God for this great Deliverance and
 ‘ Success, summ’d up in the ensuing Narrative :

Since Ormond’s first setting himself before Dub-
lin, (where he continued from the 20th of June to
the 2d Instant) little was done against this City; he
aiming first at the gaining the principal Out-gar-
risons, as Drogheda, Dundalk, and Trym, the
last being taken the 21st past.

On the 22d Col. Venables landed with his Foot;
the 25th, Col. Reynolds, with his Horse; the 26th,
Col. Moor and Col. Hunks, with their Foot, and
Captain Norwood and Major Eliot, with their
Troops, whereby this Party became in some Sort
considerable: Wherewithall, and by the Report of
the Lord-Lieutenant’s following soon after with the
whole Army, the Enemy being awaken’d, there-
upon resolv’d to set themselves wholly to this
Work; and, in the first Place, they did cut off that
Water whereby our Mills were driven, and thereby
was

was our Condition something straitened; but principally, upon the second Instant, they cast up a *Work* at Baggarath, within a Quarter of a Mile of this City, whither having drawn about 1500 Foot, besides Horse, they thence purposed to work themselves forward in their Approaches, and to take from us our Forage for our Horse, and Grass for our Cattle, without which this Place could not long have subsisted; and they built Forts towards the Sea to deprive us of the Landing-place for our common Supplies; and this was the only safe Landing left for our Forces in the Dominion of Ireland.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
August.

The Enemies Horse and Foot appearing at Baggarath the second of this Instant, about Nine in the Morning, Lieutenant-General Jones drew out 1200 Horse and 4000 Foot, intending then only to beat up the Enemies Quarters, and not to engage with so small a Party, their Camp being at Rathmines, within less than a Mile of Baggarath; but God blessing our Men with Success, and by the coming on of Parties on all Sides, it came at length to a general Engagement; and, after more than two Hours hot Dispute, the Enemy was totally routed: Ormond hardly escaped with eight Horse, and few had escaped of their whole Numbers, but that there was Cause to provide against a Body of 1000 fresh Horse of the Enemies, commanded by Sir Thomas Armstrong; which coming up fresh, and in our Men's Disorder, might have endangered all; but they, instead of advancing as our Men expected, fled towards Drogheda.

Our Loss of Men was little, there not being 20 missing; but many wounded.

Of the Enemy were slain about 4000, some of considerable Quality, and 2517 taken Prisoners; amongst whom Col. Christopher Plunket, the Earl of Fingall, and Col. Richard Butler, the Earl of Ormond's Brother, were Principals; and, with them, 16 Colonels and Field-Officers, 41 Captains, 58 Lieutenants, 42 Ensigns; of Cornets, Quarter-Masters, and other Persons of inferior Offices and Quality, great Numbers, most of them of Inchiquin's

166 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1649.

August,

English and our Runaways: To which is to be added Mr. John Herbert, Servant to the pretended King, who, about six Days before landed his Master's Household Stuff in Galway.

Our Men took in the Place three Demi-cannons, one large square Gun, carrying a Ball of twelve Pounds; one Sacre-Drake, and one Mortar-piece: All these Brass. And our Men also gained about 200 Oxen for the Train, besides Carriages. The next Day our Men seized a Brass Cannon within five Miles of the Camp; which Camp was richly furnished with great Store of Velvets, Silks, Scarlets, and other Clothing of Value; Wines, Groceries, with some convenient Quantity of Money; all which they left behind them, and the neighbouring Villages plentifully stored with Cattle of all Sorts fit for Food.

There are also taken of the Train Carriages and Waggon, belonging to the Enemies Army, at least 300; Tents, 500; Cows, 300; and Irish Nags, term'd by them Garroones, 800.

It was for our Advantage that Inchiquin had some Days before gone towards Munster, yet intending to return shortly: As also that our Men so engaged before Clanrickard's Coming up with his 3000 Men out of Connaught, and 7000 Ulster Scots also upon advancing.

All this was done by a Handful of Men, and not the third Part of our Foot coming in to the principal Part of the Work; yet, by them, the Lord defeated an Enemy, by themselves now acknowledged 19,000, and they having a fresh Reserve of Horse little short of our Numbers.

The same Night Rathfarnham (Sir Adam Loftus's House) lately taken by the Enemy, was regain'd; and the Soldiers, in Number about seven Score, entertained into the Parliament's Service, professing their Abhorrence to accompany any longer with those bloody Irish Rebels, and that they were forced to do what they did; and that hereafter they would live and die with us.

Nor did their Fears leave them till they had also quitted Maynooth, (the Earl of Kildare's House, and

and one of the strongest Places in Ireland) the Naas, Donahedy, and Richardstown, each twelve Miles at least distant from Dublin.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

August.

Never was any Day in Ireland like this, to the Confusion of the Irish, to the raising up the Spirits of the poor English, and to the restoring of the English Interest; which, from their first Footing in Ireland, was never in so low a Condition as at that very Instant; there not being one considerable Landing-place left us but this alone, and this almost gone.

‘ Upon the Consideration of all which, the Parliament, for the Manifestation of their high and extraordinary Sense of so signal and seasonable a Mercy, have thought it fit, and their Duty, to set a-part a Time for public and solemn Thanksgiving, to be rendered to the Lord, the Author of that Mercy: And they do therefore Enact and Ordain, That *Wednesday*, the 29th of this instant *August*, shall be observ’d and kept as a Day of public and holy Rejoicing and Thanksgiving to the Lord, in all the Churches and Chapels, and Places of divine Worship, within this Commonwealth of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and that the Ministers of the respective Parishes and Places aforesaid, be and hereby they are required and enjoyn’d to give Notice on the Lord’s Day next preceding the said 29th of *August*, of the Day so to be observed, to the end the People of their several Congregations may the more generally and diligently attend the public Exercises of God’s Worship and Service there to be dispensed upon this Occasion; at which Time, that the People may be more particularly and fully informed of this great Deliverance and Success, the said Ministers are hereby required to publish and read this present Act and Declaration.

‘ And for the better Observation of the Day, the Parliament doth hereby inhibit and forbid the holding or use of all Fairs, Markets, and servile Works of Men’s ordinary Callings upon that Day;

Inter-regnum.

1649.

August.

‘ Day : And all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Constables, and other Officers, are hereby enjoin’d to take especial Care of the due Observance of the said Day of Thanksgiving accordingly.’

One thousand Pounds *per Ann.* in Lands, was settled, by an Act, upon Lieutenant-General *Jones*, and his Heirs ; also six of the King’s best Horses were given to him, as a Reward for this great Service in *Ireland*. Nothing more of Moment done till

Aug. 23. When we find that a Complaint was made to the Council of State, and by them referred to the House, of many *English* Merchants trading to *France*, That the *French* King had forbid the Importation into that Kingdom of all Sorts of Draperies of Wool or of Silk, made either in *England* or *Holland* ; and had inhibited all his Subjects from buying or using them, under severe Penalties, contrary to several Treaties, there recited, then subsisting between the two Nations: That, in consequence of this Declaration, several of our *English* Cloths were seiz’d at *Diepe*, and none durst claim them ; and that the *English* Merchants were put into such a Condition, that their Factors durst not write to them, for fear their Letters should be intercepted, and bring them in Danger for only a bare Relation of the Fact.

French Wines, and divers Manufactures, forbid to be imported.

These Matters being proved by the Merchants, the House resolved, ‘ That all Wines of the Growth of *France*, and all Manufactures of Wool and Silk made in that Kingdom, be inhibited to be imported into *England* or *Ireland*, or the Dominions belonging to them, under the Penalty of Confiscation of Ship and Goods. An Act was afterwards passed to this Purpose, and ordered to be proclaimed at the *Royal Exchange*, *Guildhall*, &c.

Aug. 30. The Commons took into Consideration the several Salaries and Fees due to their Officers attending the House, and settled the same ; the Particulars whereof are put down in the *Journals*.

Aug.

Aug. 31. The House having been informed that Sir *John Wintour*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and Mr. *Walter Montague*, (Persons of whom frequent Mention has been made in the Proceedings of this Parliament) had been seen in Town; they ordered the first to be apprehended, imprisoned, and proceeded against according to Law; and the two latter to depart the Kingdom, never more to return, without Leave of the Parliament, on Pain of Death and Confiscation of their Estates.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

September 4. The House began this Month with a public Charity, by passing an Act for the Relief of such insolvent Debtors as should swear themselves not worth 5*l.* but they added a most partial Proviso, 'That it should not extend to any Persons who had been in Arms against the Parliament.' However this last was not carried without a Division, Yeas 18, Noes 17; for Col. *Thompson*, who was in the House when the Question was put, and had withdrawn, being called in, and required to give his Vote, declared for the Affirmative, so the Act passed; whereby many poor Wretches, no doubt, were left to rot in Goal, who had spent their Fortunes in the Service of their King, and were now so unhappy as to be thrown there by their merciless Creditors.

An Act pass'd
for Relief of in-
solvent Debtors,

The Parliament did nothing now for several Days worth Notice, some Acts excepted, which were passed; as, one for the taking off an Imposition of four Shillings on each Chaldron of Coals, which had been long paid at *Newcastle*; and another for prohibiting Brewers to brew, for Sale, any Ale or Beer above ten Shillings the Barrel, besides the Excise.

Sept. 11. The Parliament was not yet altogether free from Alarms: For they had Intelligence of a great Mutiny in the Garrison at *Oxford*, which was ordered to be inquired into. A much greater Insurrection happened also at *Norwich*, in which many

Mutinies and
Insurrections at
Oxford, *Nor-*
wich, and *Lon-*
don.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

many People were slain; and Mr. Utting, the Mayor, and one Mr. Tooley, were voted grand Delinquents, and ordered to be sent for as such by the Serjeant at Arms attending the House. They were afterwards fined and imprisoned in the *Fleet*; the former 1000*l.* and three Months Confinement; the latter 500*l.* and six Months.

Nor was the Parliament without their Fears near-er home, as appears by a Paper read in the House, intituled, *An Outcry of the young Men and Apprentices of London*: As they had had enough to do with this Sort of People lately, it gave them the greater Alarm; and they ordered Commissions to be issued out, under the Great Seal, for trying such Persons as had been Contrivers, Promoters, or Publishers of the said Paper, on their new Act relating to Treason.

An Act pass'd
for regulating the
Press.

Sept. 20. This Day the Act against unlicensed and scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for better regulating the Press, was read a third Time and pass'd. This Act is a sufficient Evidence, if there was not another, of the greatest Pretenders to Liberty being no sooner invested with Power, than they degenerate into the most absolute Tyrants; and that the People, who had complained of being chastised with Whips by their Kings, were now to be chastised with Scorpions by those who were but lately their Fellow-Subjects.—But an Abstract of this Act will be the best Description of it. The Preamble runs thus:

‘Whereas divers scandalous, seditious, and libellous Pamphlets, Papers, and Books are daily contrived, printed, vended, and dispersed, with officious Care and Industry, by the Malignant Party at home and abroad, for the better compassing of their wicked Ends, the Subversion of the Parliament and present Government; which they well know cannot with more Ease be attempted, than by Lyes and false Suggestions, cunningly insinuated and spread amongst the People

‘ People ; and, by malicious Misrepresentations of
 ‘ Things acted and done, to take off and divide
 ‘ their Affections from that just Authority which is
 ‘ set over them for their Good and Safety ; to
 ‘ bring a low and mean Esteem upon the Persons,
 ‘ and a Suspicion and Hatred upon the Courses and
 ‘ Intentions, of the faithful Members of the
 ‘ People’s Representative in Parliament, and of
 ‘ other Ministers of State, serving the Common-
 ‘ wealth in their several Subordinations ; especially
 ‘ such who are most constant and conscientious in
 ‘ Discharge of their Trust, and are therefore be-
 ‘ come the utmost Object of their wretched Spleen
 ‘ and Malice : And whereas a great Occasion of
 ‘ these Mischiefs and Scandals, and Dissatisfaction
 ‘ of many, hath been as well the Ignorance and
 ‘ assumed Boldness of the weekly Pamphleteers,
 ‘ without Leave or due Information, taking upon
 ‘ them to publish, and at Pleasure to censure, the
 ‘ Proceedings of Parliament and Army, and other
 ‘ Affairs of State ; as also the Irregularity and Li-
 ‘ centiousness of Printing, the Art whereof in this
 ‘ Commonwealth, and in all foreign Parts, hath
 ‘ been, and ought to be, restrained from too arbi-
 ‘ trary and general an Exercise : To prevent the
 ‘ many Mischiefs inevitably following thereupon,
 ‘ the Parliament of *England*, duly considering the
 ‘ Premises, and willing to apply fit Remedy here-
 ‘ in, do enact, &c.’

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

The most material Clauses are,

‘ That the Laws made formerly, and now in
 Force, for Punishment of Devisers and Spreaders
 of false and seditious News, Lyes, and Rumours,
 by writing, printing, speaking, or otherwise, shall
 be put in due and diligent Execution.

‘ That no Person whatsoever shall presume to
 make, write, print, publish, sell, or utter, or cause
 so to be done, any scandalous or libellous Books,
 Pamphlets, Papers, or Pictures whatsoever, on the
 Penalties following, *viz.* the Author of such
 Books, &c. to forfeit 10*l.* or be imprisoned in the
 common Goal of the County or Liberty where
 the

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

the Offence is committed, or the Offender shall be found, untill he pay the same, so that the Imprisonment exceed not 40 Days; the Printer to forfeit 5 *l.* and suffer the like Imprisonment untill he pay the same, not exceeding 20 Days; and likewise have his Press and Implements of printing seized and broken in Pieces: The Bookseller to forfeit 40 *s.* or be imprison'd in like Manner untill he pay the same, not exceeding 10 Days.

‘ That if any Person happen to buy any such seditious Books, &c. and do not within 24 Hours after Knowledge thereof, bring them to the Lord Mayor of *London*, (if the Buyer's Residence be there) or to some other Justice of the Peace within the County, City, or Liberty where such Buyer shall then happen to be, to be disposed of as by this Act is afterwards mentioned; and give Notice likewise of the Party of whom he had or bought the same, he shall forfeit for every such Omission the Sum of 20 *s.* for every such conceal'd Book, &c. to be disposed of as after-mentioned.

‘ That no Person shall compose, write, print, publish, sell, or utter, or cause so to be done, any Book or Pamphlet, Treatise or Sheet of News whatsoever, unless licensed, as hereafter mentioned, upon the like Penalty as upon the Maker, Writer, Printer, and Bookseller respectively, of scandalous Books and Pamphlets, both for Fine and Imprisonment, as herein before appointed.

‘ That all former Licenses, granted by Authority of both or either House of Parliament, to any Person for printing any Diurnal, News, or Occurrences, shall be from henceforth void; and no Book, &c. shall henceforth be printed, or put to Sale by any Person whatsoever, unless first licensed under the Hand of the Clerk of the Parliament, or of such Person as shall be authorised by the Council of State for the Time being; or for so much as may concern the Affairs of the Army, under the Hand of their Secretary for the Time being; the same to be entered in their several Registers, to be kept for that Purpose; and also in the Register
of

of the Company of Stationers; and the Printer thereof to put his Hand thereto.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

‘ Provided that the Penalties herein express’d shall not extend to quit any Person that shall make, write, &c. or cause so to be done, any Book, &c. that shall contain any seditious, treasonable, or blasphemous Matter; but the Offenders in such Kind shall be liable to such farther Penalties, as by the Laws of the Land are provided, or by Authority of Parliament shall be judged, according to the Quality of such Offences.

‘ That the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, *London*, assisted with such Persons as the Council of State shall for that Purpose nominate or approve, shall make diligent Search in all Places where they shall think meet, for all unallowed Printing-Presses, and all Presses employed in printing of any such unlicensed Books, &c. as aforesaid; and the same seize and carry away to the Common-Hall of the said Company, there to be defaced and made unserviceable; and likewise make diligent Search in all suspected Printing-Offices, Warehouses, Shops, &c. for such unlicensed and scandalous Books, &c. and the same to seize; and likewise to apprehend all Authors, Printers, &c. of such Books, &c. and to bring the Offenders, and what they shall have so seized, before such Officers as are appointed for the Execution of this Act, to be by them disposed of according to the Direction of the same.

‘ That no Person whatever shall presume to send by the Post, Carriers, or otherwise, or endeavour to disperse, any such unlicensed Books, &c. on Forfeiture of 40 s. for every such Book, &c. or Imprisonment of the Offender, the same not to exceed 40 Days; the Penalty to be inflicted, the Money to be disposed of, and such Inquiry, Searches, and Seizures touching the same to be made, as in the Case of selling unlicensed Books, &c.

‘ No Printer, nor any other Person whatsoever, shall from henceforth print, or employ any Printing-Press, Rolling-Press, or any other Instruments
for

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

for Printing, in any Place of this Commonwealth, save only in the City of *London*, and Liberties thereof, the City of *York*, and the two Universities, (excepting such as shall be particularly licensed by special Order of the Council of State) on Forfeiture of 20*l.* and having all their Printing-Presses, Letters, and Materials, defaced; and shall also be for ever disabled to be a Master-Printer, or Owner of a Printing-Press.

‘ Every Printer, or other Person, in *London*, being the Owner of Printing-Presses, Rolling-Presses, or other Instruments for Printing, shall, before the first Day of *October*, 1649, enter into Bond, with two Sureties, of 300*l.* Penalty, to the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, not to print, or cause or suffer to be printed, any seditious, scandalous, or treasonable Book, &c. dishonourable to, or against, the State and Government; nor any Book of News, &c. not enter’d and licensed as aforesaid; and shall also, to every Book, &c. they shall imprint, prefix the Author’s Name, with his Quality and Place of Residence, or at least the Licenser’s Name, where Licenses are required, and his own Name and Place of Residence at Length, in the Title-Page, on Pain of forfeiting 10*l.* for every wilful Failing, and to have all their Printing Materials defaced; and, for the second Offence, to be disabled from exercising his Trade of Printing.

‘ That no Person shall hereafter set up a Printing-Press, Rolling-Press, or other Instrument for Printing, nor cast any Printing-Letters, before they enter into a Bond as aforesaid; nor shall any Person let any House, Vault, Cellar, or other Room, for a Place to print in, unless he first give Notice thereof to the Master or Wardens of the Stationers Company, on Forfeiture of 5*l.* for every Offence; of which Intimation they are enjoined to make an Entry in their Register, on Pain of like Forfeiture for every Omission.

‘ That no Joiner, or other Person, shall make any Printing-Press or Rolling-Press, nor any Smith shall

shall forge any Iron-work for a Printing-Press, nor any Founder cast any Printing-Letters for any Person whatsoever; neither shall any Person import, or cause so to be done, any Printing-Presses or Letters; nor shall any Person buy such Presses or Letters, unless he first acquaint the said Master and Wardens for whom the said Press, &c. are to be made or imported, on Forfeiture of 5 *l.* for every Offence; of which Intimation they are to make Entry as above.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
September.

‘ That no Person whatsoever shall import any scandalous or seditious Books, &c. on Forfeiture of 5 *l.* for every such Book, &c. nor shall any Person land any imported Books at any Place but the Port of *London*; and that no Packs or Chests of Books be permitted by any Officers of the Customs or Excise to be opened or conveyed away, before the same be viewed by the said Master and Wardens, or such as they shall appoint, on Forfeiture of 5 *l.* for every Offence; so as they make the said View within 48 Hours after Notice; which they are required to make upon like Forfeiture for every Omission.

‘ And for better Discovery of malignant Book-sellers, who make a Trade of vending and dispersing to their Customers in the Country, in Packets, by the Post, Carriers, &c. unlicensed, scandalous, and seditious Books, &c. to the great Abuse of the Parliament and Prejudice of the People, any two Magistrates intrusted with the Execution of this Act, shall have Power, upon any just Occasion of Suspicion, to grant Warrants for searching of Packs and Packets, and seizing the same, to the end the Penalties may be levied thereupon: And that all unlicensed Books, &c. to be seized by Virtue of this Act, shall, after Condemnation of the Offender with whom they are taken, or to whom they belong, be brought to the Secretary to the Council of State, to be disposed of to the Fire or otherwise, as that Council shall direct.

‘ That no Hawkers shall be any more permitted, and that they and all Ballad-singers, wheresoever
ap-

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

apprehended, shall forfeit all Books, &c. by them exposed to Sale; and shall be conveyed to the House of Correction, there to be whipt as common Rogues, and then dismissed; and where no such House of Correction is, they shall be delivered over to the Constable of the Liberty where they are apprehended, to be whipt as common Rogues; on Forfeiture of 40 s. for the Neglect of his Duty herein.

‘ That whatsoever Penalties in Money shall be levied by the Company of Stationers, one neat Moiety thereof shall be reserved for the Use of their Poor, and the other for the Use of the Commonwealth.

‘ All Officers, Civil and Military, Soldiers, and other well-affected People, are enjoin’d to be assisting in the Execution of this Act; and the Council of State shall have Power to enquire into all wilful Defaults, and Contempts of Officers or others; and to reward Prosecutors or Discoverers of Offenders.

‘ Prosecutions to be commenced within six Months; and the Act to continue in Force till the 29th of September, 1651.’

The rest of the Proceedings of the House, for this Month, are very little to our Purpose, running mostly on the Sale and Division of Crown and Church Lands amongst themselves and their Friends. On the 27th a Report was made from the Council of State, to the House, that they found the Tax of 90,000 *l. per Menssem* was not sufficient for the Pay of the Army; and that for the Support of it the Council had charged Monies on the Receipts at *Goldsmiths-Hall*: That at present Monies did not come in there, for want of perfecting some Compositions depending. The House therefore ordered, That the Committee at *Goldsmiths-Hall* should sit that Afternoon, and so *de Die in Diem* till those Compositions were finished; that Supplies might be had from thence, seasonably, for the Necessities of the Army.

The

The last Thing material done in the House this Month, was to read and agree to a Declaration, for vindicating all the late Proceedings of the Parliament; every Clause of which, being put to the Question, was pass'd on the 28th, ordered to be forthwith printed and published, and to be dispersed into the several Counties, in such Manner as the Council of State should order.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

A DECLARATION of the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND, in Vindication of their Proceedings, and discovering the dangerous Practices of several Interests against the present Government and Peace of the Commonwealth.

‘ **H**OW greatly it hath pleased God, even by The Parliament’s
 ‘ a continued Series of Miracles and Won- Declaration in
 ‘ ders, to exalt his own Name, and glorify his Vindication of
 ‘ mighty Power in the Eyes of this and our Neigh- their Proceed-
 ‘ bour Nations, by the constant Course of Deli- ings, &c.
 ‘ verances which he hath wrought for these many
 ‘ Years late past, on the Behalf of a sinful and
 ‘ undeserving People, and by the Means of weak
 ‘ and unworthy Instruments, we can never fre-
 ‘ quently enough remember, nor be sufficiently
 ‘ thankful for: *Their Rock hath not been as our*
 ‘ *Rock, even our Enemies themselves being Judges.*

‘ And, indeed, this wonderful Going-forth of
 ‘ the good Hand of God with us, and for us, hath
 ‘ been that principally which hath supported us,
 ‘ and borne us up above all those swelling and mul-
 ‘ tiplied Waves that have followed one upon ano-
 ‘ ther, and hath made us to stand against the many
 ‘ Storms and Assaults wherewith we have been at-
 ‘ tempted by all Sorts of Parties and Interests
 ‘ amongst us; who, dividing and withdrawing
 ‘ themselves from public Ends, do all of them,
 ‘ notwithstanding, (because acted by one Principle,
 ‘ even the Power of Darkness) make shift so far to
 ‘ understand each other, as, when Opportunity
 ‘ serves, to take one another by the Hand, for

VOL. XIX.

M

‘ strength-

‘ Printed by John Field for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England,

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

strengthening and upholding themselves, in practising and contriving, under several specious Pretences, against the Good, Peace, and Safety of the Whole. We have been like unto the Bush in the Midst of Flames; but, by the Good-will of him that dwelt in the Bush, we have not been consumed; and, like the Remnant left by God in the Land, which though he will cause to pass through the Fire, yet it is to refine them as Silver is refined, and to try them as Gold is tried, that he may make them a People *who shall call upon God, and he will hear them*; and of whom God shall say, *They are my People, and they shall say, The Lord is our God.*

By this secret Confidence and Expectation of our Hearts, wherein we hope we shall not be disappointed, and, through the good Providence of God, we have been kept together, even to this very Day, as weak Instruments in the Hand of our great God, serving our Generations, and discharging the high Trust of our Places, whatever the Discouragements and Difficulties have been that we have met with, and Dangers that have threatened us on every Side; such as we may truly say, former Ages can hardly parallel; and such as were not to have been expected, especially from those who had made so great a Progress in Conjunction with us against the common Enemy, and in vindicating and asserting the Purity of Religion and public Liberty.

For, when first of all we came to be engaged in carrying on this great and glorious Work of Religion and public Liberty, how lively and uncorrupted were our Affections? How satisfied and unanimous were our Judgments? How fix'd and undaunted our Resolutions in that which appeared to us so necessary, so just, and so worthy to be undertaken by true Patriots and good Christians? We did therefore run well; but who, or what, hath hindered us that we seek not still to obtain what at first we thought so desirable, without giving back or turning aside untill the Work
be

' be perfected, and the Persons engag'd in the Pro-
' secution thereof be secured against the Enmity
' and Revenge of those that are rather made more
' implacable, than converted, by all the Deliver-
' ances that God hath wrought for us, and the
' Testimonies of Displeasure against them, as often
' as they have risen up and set themselves against
' us?

Inter-regnum,
1649.

September.

' Whatever the great Failings and Infirmities
' have been, and do still daily discover themselves
' amongst us, that hold it our Duty to give our
' Attendance upon our Trust in Parliament, so
' long as Opportunity is offered unto us for the
' same; we can truly say, That as Religion in its
' Purity, and public Liberty, were the Ends which,
' from the Beginning, we had before our Eyes
' when we engaged in this great Work, so are they
' still our Desires and Endeavours; the comfort-
' able Fruit whereof we would willingly have to be
' reaped by this Nation, at least in their succeed-
' ing Generations, if it were the Will of God;
' and the Prosecution of this, and this only, (how-
' ever we are reproached, and unjustly vilified by
' slanderous Tongues and Pens) is that which keeps
' most of us together at such a Time, when, as in
' the Case of *Hester*, we see, if we had done other-
' wise than we have done, and deserted our Sta-
' tions, and cast up the Helm, the visible Means
' of carrying on the Work had failed, and sunk
' down into certain Disorder and Confusion.

' But whether there hath not been found a ma-
' nifest Defection and Apostacy from these good
' and public Ends, by those that at the first did
' bear the Name of Patriots and Lovers of Religion
' amongst us, we appeal to the Actions and Ways
' themselves, which such Persons have since ap-
' peared in, that do sufficiently evidence against
' them, and declare them the Builders up again of
' what they once joined in the Destruction of; and
' so do make themselves Transgressors, and stand
' in Need of no other Confutation and Convic-
' tion.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ Among the Number of those we reckon them
 ‘ that, either under Pretence of advancing Refor-
 ‘ mation of Religion, can go back and incorporate
 ‘ themselves with the avowed and known Haters of
 ‘ God, and Enemies to the Life and Power of Ho-
 ‘ linefs; or that, under Pretence of bringing us
 ‘ into the Perfection of public Liberty, can fetch
 ‘ a Compass quite round, and make the bringing
 ‘ in again of Monarchy into this Commonwealth,
 ‘ to be the only Means of settling it in Freedom.
 ‘ The Actors in such Designs as these carry the
 ‘ Evidence of their own Conviction in their Fore-
 ‘ head, unto all that are not wilfully blind, or ma-
 ‘ liciously corrupt; and therefore would seem to
 ‘ stand in no great Need of much Pains to be taken
 ‘ to undeceive them.

‘ And however it hath been the good Pleasure
 ‘ of God to suffer those that have been formerly
 ‘ instrumental and Helps to us in this great Cause,
 ‘ thus, by Steps and Degrees, to fail, and fall off
 ‘ like untimely Fruit; yet herein hath he shewed
 ‘ his wonderful Goodness to this Nation, that their
 ‘ deserting of us, and breaking from us, hath not
 ‘ hitherto been able to keep the Work itself at a
 ‘ Stand, but that it is still carried on; wherein we
 ‘ rejoice.

‘ And, on the contrary, the Time wherein they
 ‘ afforded their Assistance and Help hath been im-
 ‘ proved by God’s over-ruling Providence, to bring
 ‘ us much nearer to our Journey’s End than ever
 ‘ we could have expected, though the Ship should
 ‘ hereafter miscarry in the very Harbour; which
 ‘ God forbid. And, for our Parts, the larger Ex-
 ‘ perience which we have had of God’s constant
 ‘ owning and seasonable assisting us in our greatest
 ‘ Straits and most imminent Dangers; and the seri-
 ‘ ous Consideration that the Work itself is of that
 ‘ Nature as requires and obliges us, and all good
 ‘ Men, to the utmost, to offer up ourselves in the Sa-
 ‘ crifice and Service thereof, as we desire to approve
 ‘ ourselves sincere in our Obligations to God, and
 ‘ faithful in our Trusts to this Nation; we do re-
 ‘ solve,

‘ solve, through God’s Assistance, to cast ourselves
‘ upon his favourable Acceptance of our Endeavours
‘ in persevering to the End, and his Protection of us
‘ in our doing our Duties, let the Issue be what seems
‘ best to his Divine Providence, whether for Life or for Death.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

‘ And that we may not be wanting in what we are able,
‘ for the awakening of all those whom it doth concern
‘ unto the same Sense of their Duty in this Behalf with
‘ ourselves, we shall briefly lay before them the happy
‘ Progress that, thro’ God’s Goodness, hath been made,
‘ in procuring the Blessings of pure Religion and just
‘ Liberty unto this Nation, notwithstanding all the
‘ Reproaches and unthankful Murmurings of ill-minded
‘ Men; and wherein, we are hopeful, to grow up to
‘ whatever remains yet unperfected, if there be but
‘ answerable Readiness in those, whom the Good of this
‘ as much concerns as ourselves, to stand by us, and join
‘ with us, in attaining the same against those many
‘ hellish Designs and cursed Practices that are now on
‘ Foot, to plunge us again into new Troubles, and give
‘ greater Advantage than ever to the common Enemy, by
‘ our Divisions and Breaches, to come upon us as an
‘ irresistible Flood, with Tyranny, Popery, Superstition,
‘ Profaneness, and whatever else we have so dearly
‘ contended against for so many Years together.

‘ And, first, as to advancing of Religion to its
‘ greatest Degree of Purity; can any be unmindful in
‘ what a corrupted and degenerate State we found the
‘ Matters of Religion, at the first Sitting of this
‘ present Parliament? How near the whole Administration
‘ of Church-Affairs was brought to the superstitious
‘ and idolatrous Pattern of *Rome*; and how quickly we
‘ should have found ourselves swallowed up in that
‘ sinful and wretched Apostacy? For our Recovery
‘ out of which Danger, how careful and zealous hath
‘ the Parliament been to propagate and advance the
‘ Work of Reformation in these Nations; propounding
‘ to themselves,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ for their Guide herein, the Word of God and the
 ‘ best Reformed Churches? In which Work, how
 ‘ happily and comfortably did they proceed, whilst
 ‘ we were purging and reforming the Evil of
 ‘ Popery, Superstition, and Profaneness; in which
 ‘ there was a common Consent and Agreement of
 ‘ all those that unfeignedly desired the Enjoyment
 ‘ of Religion in its greatest Purity: But when once
 ‘ there appeared amongst us (and this from some of
 ‘ those who most earnestly put on the Work of Re-
 ‘ formation, untill it arrived to their own Measure
 ‘ and Growth) an Impatience toward any of differ-
 ‘ ing Minds from themselves, however otherwise
 ‘ truly fearing God, and faithful Advancers of his
 ‘ Glory; and a Fearfulness in them of going for-
 ‘ ward, lest that which was beyond them, and as
 ‘ necessary to be known and attained to lead us to
 ‘ the Enjoyment of Religion in its Purity and
 ‘ Power, should take Place; whereby it might ap-
 ‘ pear, that the Reformers of Popery and Profane-
 ‘ ness stood themselves in Need of Reformation,
 ‘ by his Appearance and Manifestation of himself,
 ‘ who *sits as a Refiner and Purifier of Silver, and*
 ‘ *shall purify the Sons of Levi, and purge them as*
 ‘ *Gold and as Silver, that they may offer unto the*
 ‘ *Lord an Offering in Righteousness.* When this
 ‘ Frame of Spirit appeared amongst us, then all
 ‘ further Degrees and Measures of attaining unto
 ‘ Religion in its Purity would not be borne; but
 ‘ must be branded with the foul Names of Heresy,
 ‘ Blasphemy, and Schism; and the Persons be de-
 ‘ clared and proceeded against as Enemies to Re-
 ‘ formation, as Disturbers of the Peace, and as fit
 ‘ Objects of the Magistrate’s Discountenance and
 ‘ Punishment.

‘ And such was the implacable and irreconcilable
 ‘ Temper of these Men towards those differing
 ‘ from them, that were desirous to carry on the
 ‘ Purity of Religion beyond their Measure, that
 ‘ many of them chose rather to fall into the Power
 ‘ of the Cavalier and Episcopal Party, and became
 ‘ instrumental to the bringing in of the late King,
 ‘ upon

‘ upon the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, (so much
 ‘ since declared against by the Church of *Scotland*,
 ‘ as destructive to the Work of Reformation set-
 ‘ tled in these Nations) than that they would join
 ‘ with those they reputed Sectaries, in their Endeavours
 ‘ to carry on the Work they first engag’d in,
 ‘ to that Degree of Perfection as became them, after
 ‘ so much Blood and Treasure expended in the
 ‘ Prosecution of it.

Inter-regnum.
 1649.

September.

‘ In this Condition was the Work of Reformation
 ‘ when the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, by God’s
 ‘ over-ruling Providence, came to be broken off;
 ‘ that is to say, in a Manner yielded and resigned up
 ‘ into the Power of the Enemies thereof, and refused
 ‘ to be carried on by them that were the most zealous
 ‘ Promoters thereof at first; altho’ it had pleased
 ‘ God to make a Way for the same, by continuing
 ‘ together a competent Number in Parliament,
 ‘ to hold up the visible Authority of this Nation;
 ‘ and, by keeping their Places and Stations, to do
 ‘ their Endeavours to prosecute their first Principles
 ‘ and Ends, whilst God gave them any Opportunity
 ‘ for the same: Nay, we could wish that they had
 ‘ only remained passive, and been contented to have
 ‘ let others carried on the Work of Religion in its
 ‘ Purity, tho’ they themselves held back; but this
 ‘ would not serve their Turn, unless they flew in
 ‘ the Face of the visible Authority of this Nation,
 ‘ and took upon them to be Judges, whether we
 ‘ were a lawful Magistracy or not; as if that were
 ‘ within their Line, and committed to them to determine.

‘ Yet hath not all this discouraged this present
 ‘ Parliament to do their Part in propagating the
 ‘ Gospel, and advancing the Purity and Power of
 ‘ Religion in this Commonwealth; but they have
 ‘ continued those Laws and Ordinances that were
 ‘ already in Force, for the Good and Furtherance
 ‘ of the Work of Reformation, in Doctrine, Worship,
 ‘ and Discipline; and are still most willing
 ‘ to uphold the same, in order to suppress Popery,
 ‘ Superstition, Blasphemy, and any Manner of
 ‘ Wick-

184 *The Parliamentary HISTORY*

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ Wickedness or Profaneness in the Land; only
‘ they do conceive themselves obliged to remove
‘ and take away all Obstructions and Hinderances
‘ to the Growth of Religion and Power of Holiness
‘ in the Midst of us; and, for this End, they
‘ have it now under Consideration how such Acts
‘ and Ordinances, or any Part of them, as they
‘ find penal and coercive in Matters of Conscience,
‘ which have been made Use of for Snares, Burthens,
‘ and Vexations to the truly sincere-hearted
‘ People of God, that fear him, and wait for the
‘ Coming of his Son Jesus Christ, may be taken
‘ away.

‘ And because we are not ignorant how injuriously
‘ our Proceedings herein are charged upon
‘ us, as if we were setting up and countenancing
‘ an universal Toleration, when our true Aim in
‘ the Liberty we give, is only the necessary Encouragement
‘ we conceive due to all that are Lovers of God,
‘ and the Purity and Power of Religion: We can
‘ and do therefore declare, in the Sight of God
‘ and Man, That by whomsoever we shall find
‘ this Liberty abused, we shall be most ready to
‘ testify our Displeasure and Abhorrency thereof,
‘ by a strict and effectual Proceeding against
‘ such Offenders.

‘ And if, after all this, any of those amongst us,
‘ that do profess a Love to God, and Zeal to advance
‘ Religion in its Purity, to be their chiefest End
‘ and Desire, shall nevertheless still sit at a Distance
‘ from us, or shall be given up so far by God,
‘ as to make Defection to the contrary Party
‘ against us, and join themselves to them that are
‘ open Enemies to Religion and the Power of Godliness,
‘ in what Dress soever they cover themselves;
‘ we shall not doubt but their own Unfaithfulness,
‘ detestable Neutrality, and wicked Doings,
‘ will find them out; and Enlargement and
‘ Deliverance shall arise to the People of God
‘ some other Way, whilst they, their Names and
‘ Posterities, shall be destroyed.

‘ As

‘ As for public Liberty, which is the second
 ‘ Thing; for the Vindication and Asserting where-
 ‘ of we have not thought our Lives nor Estates,
 ‘ nor any other of these outward Comforts, too
 ‘ dear for us to hazard and expose: In what a Con-
 ‘ dition that was at the Sitting-down of this Par-
 ‘ liament, how near it was to breathing its last,
 ‘ and how little it wanted of being swallowed up in
 ‘ the Will of a Tyrant, is so well known to all
 ‘ Men that then made any Observation of the
 ‘ State of Things, or had any Sense of their own
 ‘ Sufferings, and will but now remember them,
 ‘ that it shall not be necessary to repeat: And into
 ‘ what a happy Condition it is already brought at
 ‘ present, by the Blessing of God upon the Coun-
 ‘ cils and Forces of the Parliament; and how far
 ‘ advanced, in a fair Way, to a settled and well-
 ‘ established Security for the future, though it will
 ‘ not be confessed by unthankful Men (whose In-
 ‘ gratitude can value no Benefit received, be it ne-
 ‘ ver so great, while any Thing remains for their
 ‘ exorbitant Desires to pursue) yet it is such as we
 ‘ cannot but have a deep and tender Sense of, and
 ‘ acknowledge it with all humble Thankfulness to
 ‘ our gracious God, who hath hitherto helped us;
 ‘ unless we should shew ourselves less affected with
 ‘ it than our Friends are, who are less concerned,
 ‘ and yet look upon it with Rejoicing. And how
 ‘ low Thoughts soever these Men have of the Pro-
 ‘ ceedings of Providence in the Carrying-on of this
 ‘ Cause, yet the future Contemplation of the Ac-
 ‘ tions of this Time, (for the Greatness and Justice
 ‘ of them hardly to be exemplified in any other) will
 ‘ cause Men to say, What hath God wrought!
 ‘ And our very Enemies themselves shew, that they
 ‘ have other Opinions of it, being forced to feel
 ‘ God’s Hand lifted up, which they would not see;
 ‘ sinking into Confusion, and gnashing with their
 ‘ Teeth, while they consume away in their Envy
 ‘ at that Prosperity which God hath clothed us
 ‘ with from his own good Hand.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ And

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

‘ And we are very confident, that even those
 ‘ who are now acting their Parts for their private
 ‘ Ends, which they would bring about by what
 ‘ Means soever, and remove whatever stands in
 ‘ their Way, however either dear or sacred; and
 ‘ would destroy this present Government, which
 ‘ doth and will hinder such Designs so long as it is
 ‘ in being; and they therefore endeavour to render
 ‘ vile, publishing daily against it, and against many
 ‘ particular Men whom God hath honoured with
 ‘ Faithfulness to his Cause, and made eminently or
 ‘ specially instrumental to advance the same, all
 ‘ Manner of shameless Calumnies, lying Revilings,
 ‘ Slanders, and Reproaches; as if, in this Time,
 ‘ nothing had been done toward this just Liberty,
 ‘ nor that any Thing would be done, unless they,
 ‘ like *Absalom*, could bring themselves into Power,
 ‘ and undertake the Work according to those wild
 ‘ Principles of theirs, which they have published
 ‘ in Print to that Purpose; which holds forth a
 ‘ Liberty without Property, public Safety, or Pro-
 ‘ tection:

‘ We say, if those Men would but recall to their
 ‘ Consideration their own Hopes which they had
 ‘ of Liberty in the Beginning of this Parliament,
 ‘ and with how small a Proportion of what they
 ‘ now enjoy their then narrower Desires were
 ‘ bounded, they would confess them to be far short
 ‘ of what is already had.

‘ But to let them pass, who, being acted by par-
 ‘ ticular Interest, have not left themselves the Be-
 ‘ nefit of being convinced or directed by common
 ‘ and universal Reason, it was not then believed
 ‘ by most of those, whose Innocency and good
 ‘ Meaning is now dangerously abused by the Ma-
 ‘ lignant Party (by Means of some of those whom
 ‘ they name *Levellers*, whose specious Overtures
 ‘ and former Pretensions to Goodness have deceiv’d
 ‘ them) that ever they should have seen all that
 ‘ Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, with all their tyrannical
 ‘ Courts and Attendants, the Star-Chamber, High
 ‘ Com-

‘ Commission-Court, Ship-Money, Projects, Monopolies and Purveyances, the Court of Wards and Tenures, and all the Dependences of it, which heretofore was a legal Pest to the free-born People of this Nation, and the very Ruin of many Families, together with the deepest Root and Foundation of all the People’s Sufferings, even Kingship and Tyranny itself, as well as the late King, should be wholly taken away; and thereby (if God be pleased to go on to bless us, and the Fault be not in the People themselves, suffering themselves to be made instrumental to their own Miseries, by endeavouring to build again the Things that are destroy’d) a sure Foundation laid for Time to erect upon it the most happy Structure of a just Liberty and settled Prosperity that may be expected in this World, under the Direction and Government of successive and equal Representatives in Parliament: Yet all this, and much more, hath been done since the Beginning of this Parliament, and to which we have been led by several Steps by the Providence of God, directing our Councils in several Degrees of Manifestation, and blessing our Forces for effecting of them, beyond what was either first propounded by us, or could reasonably have been hoped to be brought to pass; the very Discovery of so remote an End, in the Beginning of the Action, had been sufficient to have discouraged any Undertaking therein.

‘ And although this great Progress hath been made in the Vindication and establishing of our just Liberties, yet we do not set up our Rest, as if there remained no more to be done: And we conceive they who duly consider of how great Weight and Difficulty the Work is that we have in hand, and will but inform themselves what hath been done now in eight Months, since the Restitution of the just Liberties of the People, and the settling of the present Government, will not be offended that something remains to be proceeded in,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ They

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ They may take Notice that *Ireland*, which was
 ‘ brought into such a Condition, first by the Trea-
 ‘ son of *Inchiquin*, whereby the whole Province of
 ‘ *Munster* was lost; then by the Return thither of
 ‘ *Ormond*, whereby most of the Popish Party were
 ‘ reconciled, and with whom a Peace was made
 ‘ for carrying on the Interest and pretended Title
 ‘ of *Charles Stuart*. Thirdly, by the Rebellion of
 ‘ all the *Scots* in *Ulster*, upon the same Interest, and
 ‘ by the Revolt of many that were under the Com-
 ‘ mand of Lieutenant-General *Jones*; all that re-
 ‘ mained to the Parliament there was only within
 ‘ the Walls of *Dublin* and *Derry*, and they both
 ‘ strongly besieged; yet, through the Blessing of
 ‘ God, *Ireland* itself is now in a more hopeful
 ‘ Way of speedy settling, than at any Time since
 ‘ the first Rebellion.

‘ There hath been also, this Year, a great and
 ‘ powerful Fleet set out to Sea, under faithful Com-
 ‘ manders, whereby Trade hath been protected,
 ‘ the *English* Honour and Interest upon their Seas
 ‘ maintained, foreign Attempts against us discour-
 ‘ aged, and a great Reputation procured to our
 ‘ Affairs abroad.

‘ A free Passage hath been also given to the
 ‘ Execution of Justice, according to the Laws,
 ‘ throughout the Nation; and the Peace thereof
 ‘ hath been preserved, notwithstanding many De-
 ‘ signs, and some Endeavours, to disturb it.

‘ And, for what still remains to be done, we
 ‘ shall, according to the great Trust that is upon
 ‘ us from the People, proceed therein for the pro-
 ‘ curing their common Good, which is the true
 ‘ and ultimate End of all just Government; and,
 ‘ by a right Aim at that, direct all our Actions,
 ‘ and not cease to improve our best Judgments, and
 ‘ lay out our most unwearied Labours, notwith-
 ‘ standing all Discouragements either from Malice,
 ‘ Envy, Danger, or any other Cause whatsoever;
 ‘ to promote the same, so far and so fast as the
 ‘ Subject-Matter will bear; the Proceedings where-
 ‘ in ought to be judged sufficiently expeditious,
 ‘ that

that are sufficiently safe. And we should betray our great Trust if we should suffer ourselves, by the impotent Haste and Importunity of any, to do that which might be inconsistent with the Peace and Safety of the whole.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

The great Work we have first to do, is to establish the Being and Safety of the Commonwealth upon sure Foundations, which are undermined by more Enemies than are visible to all. This provided for, we shall not be wanting daily to remove or add what shall be for the Well-being of it, either in Conveniency or Ornament; for the Enjoyment whereof we conceive the People may with the greater Patience attend, because their present Condition is already so much better, besides the Capacity of Improvement, than it was in the best of that *Egyptian* State, to which, by reason of some necessarily remaining Pressures, they are too easily seduced to an Inclination to return. To preserve them from which (because we would not omit any Thing that is in our Power, that may be for the Good of those who have trusted us) we shall endeavour to undeceive those of the People, whose Innocency and Well-meaning hath subjected them to be deceived and dangerously misled, by the specious and subtle Insinuations of that Sort of Men, who, being themselves corrupted by the common Enemy, do endeavour to bring the Nation again under the Bonds of Tyranny and Monarchy; and, while they have nothing in their View but Liberty, are deceived into those Actions and Practices which tend naturally and necessarily to the inevitable Loss of that Liberty they so much call for, if they should not be preserved against their Will, by those who know the Danger into which they run.

For this Purpose we desire all Men to remember, that, at the End of the first War, we had not then an End of our Troubles; but that Enemy which was beaten and conquer'd in the Field, and could do no more by Force, had Recourse to subtle

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ subtle Practices; and by corrupting a Party in
 ‘ the Parliament, and by their Influence there, be-
 ‘ ing so corrupted, had almost broken that Army
 ‘ by which he was beaten.

‘ The specious Pretence was the Liberty and
 ‘ Ease of the People; they had long been under a
 ‘ War, oppressed and ruined with heavy Burthens,
 ‘ which it was now necessary to ease them of:
 ‘ What Benefit had the People by those Victories,
 ‘ and that Conquest, if they must still continue un-
 ‘ der the same Charge? There was now no more
 ‘ an Enemy in the Field, What Need was there
 ‘ of an Army to continue that heavy and unneces-
 ‘ sary Charge upon the People? By such Argu-
 ‘ ments, and by their Power, that Faction prevail-
 ‘ ed to vote the Disbanding of the Army, and vast
 ‘ Sums of the Commonwealth’s Treasure was
 ‘ by them then wasted to effect it; thereby to
 ‘ make Way for the admitting of the then King
 ‘ to the re-exercising of that Power which had pro-
 ‘ duced such bloody and fatal Effects, and without
 ‘ any just Satisfaction given to the People for the
 ‘ same; which how easily and certainly it would
 ‘ have followed the Disbanding of the Army, is
 ‘ sufficiently evident by the breaking-out of the se-
 ‘ cond War, then in Design and Agitation.

‘ And although the second War was also, by the
 ‘ Blessing of God upon the Endeavours of those
 ‘ who were faithful in the Parliament and Army,
 ‘ brought to an End; and that Design of Mischief
 ‘ which was so universally laid, and that came to
 ‘ Action in so many several Parts of this Nation,
 ‘ (although assisted with the Invasion of a nu-
 ‘ merous Army of a foreign Enemy, who had a
 ‘ deep Interest in, and close Correspondency with,
 ‘ a very great Party of all Sorts in this Nation) ef-
 ‘ fected nothing of their main End, God being
 ‘ pleased so signally to evidence his Indignation
 ‘ against them; yet it is very evident in what Con-
 ‘ dition the Liberty of the People had been, as to
 ‘ all human Support, if the Army had not been in
 ‘ a Readiness to have opposed that Design, which
 ‘ that

‘ that traiterous Party did so vigorously drive on, under the Pretence of easing their Burthens, to leave them naked of all Defence against the prepared Attempts of their Malice.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ This grand Design of Mischief is still carried on, although by other Agents, and under another Pretence: The former Agents have now neither Credit nor Power; and therefore, being able to contribute to that Cause no more than the first Malignants themselves, they now appear not. Another Course is resolved and pursued; they saw they were not able to beat the Army, nor disband it, nor persuade the People they might spare it, so they attempt to corrupt the Discipline of it, and debauch the Fidelity of the private Soldiers, and make them theirs: And while the Endeavours are strong to re-establish Monarchy and Tyranny, and to make the People absolute Slaves, nothing is to be held out to them but Liberty, and make them believe there is nothing hinders it but the Parliament.

‘ And the apparent Actors in this must be those called *Levellers*, none being so fit as they to destroy the People’s Liberty unsuspected, if they once undertake it, as having endeavoured already (though there be little Cause for it) to make them believe they are the only faithful Patriots, the Assestors and Maintainers of it. Some of those having made Defection from that Profession they sometimes made of Religion and Godliness, and having entertained Principles of Atheism and Licentiousness, and practised accordingly, found that the practising of those Principles would not be borne in a Commonwealth, under a good and just Government, where Justice hath its Course, and Property is maintained; where Sobriety and Temperance is in Reputation, and the Purity and Power and Life of Religion and Godliness is countenanced and promoted.

‘ And knowing that, if the pretended Interest of *Charles Stuart* could be set up, the Managing of it would be in the Hands of those that are of as
‘ atheistical

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘atheistical and licentious Principles as themselves;
 ‘and that they might in such a Government, with-
 ‘out either Shame or Danger, let out their Lusts
 ‘without Controul, they have espoused that Inte-
 ‘rest, come off to that Side, held Correspondency
 ‘with him and his Party: And in pursuance there-
 ‘of have, for some while past, directed all their
 ‘Actions, to the Ruin of this Commonwealth,
 ‘and Enslaving the People; whom they deceive,
 ‘in the mean Time, with the Name of Liberty,
 ‘with which they would cloak their own Licen-
 ‘tiousness.

‘These Principles and this Practice of theirs is
 ‘evident to all who observe their Walkings and
 ‘their Correspondency; besides what, from the
 ‘Abundance of their Hearts, flow from their Pens
 ‘in what they publish to the World, take this Tes-
 ‘timony of an intercepted Letter, written from one
 ‘who hath been employed to corrupt them, and
 ‘thereby drive on the main Design; it needs no
 ‘Comment, it speaks plain, and is as follows:

May it please your Lordships,

YOURS of the third Instant came to my Hand;
 in return whereof know, that all our Hopes here
 depend on his Majesty's seeming Compliance with
 Lilbourne and the Levelling Party, whose Discon-
 tents increase daily; without which it is impossible
 for any of his Party here to be serviceable, unless
 upon their Principles. For my own Part, I am
 serviceable to that End with my utmost Abilities. I
 have not been wanting to endeavour the creating Jeal-
 ousies and Discontents, thereby to ruin the most po-
 tent: In order whereunto I have caused Lenthall,
 the Speaker, to be accused by some discontented Per-
 sons, Prisoners, to whom I have been very prodigal,
 both in Rewards and Promises of Freedom; inso-
 much that they have prosecuted him so cunningly that
 many considerable Persons, both in the Army and City,
 are engaged therein. And to the end the Plot may
 take to the Purpose, I have insinuated by my Agents,
 into some of the Levelling Party, that it is a Design
 of

of the Grandees to remove him, to the end they may make their Lord-President, Bradshaw, Speaker in his Room; which hath taken such Effect among the simple-hearted Levellers, that they, so far as I can apprehend, are resolved to join their Interest with the Speaker's, to prevent so great a Mischief, as they call it; by which Means I doubt not but to accomplish a Design that shall pull down those two great Pillars of their new Commonwealth.

Inter-regnum

1649.

September.

As touching the State of Affairs here, in relation to his Majesty, I find that his Friends increase daily, (as to Matter of Affection) but have no Possibility of embodying, although some Endeavours have been that Way, unless the Levellers lead the Way; which (although some Overtures have been made to prevent) will be, I hope, suddenly put in Execution. To that Purpose I desire some Assistance may be given me; for without Supplies of Money little can be expected, those I converse withall being either extreme needy or covetous. I have sent a faithful Agent over Sea, to salute and attend the Motion of his Irish Excellency. I doubt not but shortly you will receive a good Account touching that Business. Sir, I pray be mindful of him, that, as a Prisoner for his Affection to the Service of his Majesty, hath been wanting in nothing, according to his utmost Possibilities, that might manifest his Loyalty to his King, and Respect to your Lordship.^a

T. F.

London, Fleet, Sept. 6, 1649.

' The inner Case, in which the Letter was inclosed, indorsed thus, *For 250, these.*

' The outer Case thus, *A Monsieur, Monsieur Robert Shamatre, au quatre Vents Rue perdue, proche la Place Maubert, a Paris.* In which was written thus: *Sir, I beseech you, as heretofore, convey the inclosed as directed; the Performance hereof will exceedingly oblige* Your Friend,

T. F.

VOL. XIX.

N

' And

^a This Letter was intercepted two or three Days before the Mutiny at Oxford brake forth, Notes in the Original.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ And whereas the principal Means that God
 ‘ hath used to procure the Liberty we now enjoy,
 ‘ hath been the Councils and Authority of the Par-
 ‘ liament, and the Faithfulness of the Army: These
 ‘ Men have attempted upon both; they have, by
 ‘ their false, seditious, and treasonable Invectives
 ‘ and Pamphlets, laboured to render the Parliament
 ‘ not only contemptible, but abominable to all
 ‘ the People, that they might weaken and take off
 ‘ that Respect and Reverence they owe to them,
 ‘ from whose Obedience they designed to debauch
 ‘ them, and so be left without any visible Power to
 ‘ direct them; and that this Commonwealth might
 ‘ run into tumultuary Confusions in the Infancy,
 ‘ and not grow up into any Measure of Strength
 ‘ and Settlement, in the Hands of those whom
 ‘ God hath owned and used as Instruments to
 ‘ bring the Work thus far; and who, by long Use,
 ‘ might reasonably be supposed to have gotten some
 ‘ Experience in that great Work: All their En-
 ‘ deavours have been improved to procure a Disso-
 ‘ lution of this Parliament, and the Calling of a
 ‘ new Representative, pretending the People ought
 ‘ to have the Liberty of new and frequent Elec-
 ‘ tions; though they very well know that, as the
 ‘ present Distemper of the People was, the Vio-
 ‘ lence of Faction, and Activity of their secret En-
 ‘ mies, either these Elections could not be free, or
 ‘ the People must have lost their Liberty by it, which
 ‘ was the Thing they had in Design and Prosecution.

‘ And to give them an Experiment how much
 ‘ Liberty they were like to have enjoyed under the
 ‘ managing of these Men, whose Principles of
 ‘ Tyranny are as the Loins to the Little Finger of
 ‘ those whom they so much cry down; that crude
 ‘ Conception of the *Agreement of the People*, which
 ‘ was the first Birth of a few of themselves, must
 ‘ be obtruded upon them as a Super-parliamentary
 ‘ Law, without receiving and owning of which,
 ‘ no Man should have enjoyed those Liberties they
 ‘ so much boast to be the unquestionable Birth-
 ‘ right of every free-born Man.

‘ For

‘ For the Army; they knew the Officers were
‘ above their secret Practice, they therefore apply to
‘ the Soldiers; and, by their Emissaries every where,
‘ infuse into them their Doctrine of Disobedience.

‘ And knowing well how the Design of *Charles*
‘ *Stuart* was laid for *Ireland*, and into what hope-
‘ ful Condition for his Party his Affairs were there
‘ grown, all their Endeavours were used to hinder
‘ the sending of Forces thither, to prevent his
‘ Greatness there, from whence he might have
‘ been considerably dangerous to this Nation:
‘ They delivered for good political Doctrine, *That*
‘ *Ireland was a free Kingdom, had been conquered*
‘ *by Force, had justly vindicated their own Liberty,*
‘ *and ought not to be compelled to any Obedience or*
‘ *Subordination to this Nation; that the Soldiers*
‘ *ought not to suffer themselves to be transported thi-*
‘ *ther; they had indeed fought for their own Liberty*
‘ *here, but ought not to be commanded out of their*
‘ *own to take away that of others.* And what Effect
‘ this had, and how far and how long the Relief of
‘ *Ireland* was hindered by the Disobedience and
‘ Mutinies by them caused, is very well known; so
‘ as if God had not been pleased, by no less than a
‘ Miracle, to give Victory to a small Handful of
‘ our Men there, even besides their own Intention,
‘ and beyond their Design, against a very great Ar-
‘ my of the Enemy’s, there had not been left a
‘ Landing-place in *Ireland* for our Army, but what
‘ they must have fought for.

‘ They also continually suggested to the Soldiers,
‘ That the Parliament was a Nest of Tyrants, and
‘ therefore to be destroyed as public Enemies;
‘ with much more of this Kind, both published
‘ in Print, and so dispersed, and otherwise dissemi-
‘ nated among them; and what Effects this Doc-
‘ trine wrought, the Defection begun in some Re-
‘ giments in *Wiltshire* and other Places, (though,
‘ by the Mercy of God, soon ended at *Burford*) and
‘ now lately at *Oxford*, hath sufficiently manifest-
‘ ed; which Disobedience, if it had proceeded
‘ further, and not been restrained by that special

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘ Providence which hath set Bounds to the Sea
 ‘ which it cannot pass, we might soon have been
 ‘ without an Army to have served the Common-
 ‘ wealth against their Attempts, who had laid their
 ‘ Designs to appear then, when the Distempers in
 ‘ the Army should be ready for them; as at that
 ‘ Time the Surprize of *Weymouth* was appointed
 ‘ by Capt. *Gardiner* and his Accomplices, by Com-
 ‘ mission from *Charles Stuart*.

‘ And to the end also the Army might be the
 ‘ more easily corrupted in its Discipline, and made
 ‘ odious to the People, all Means are used to keep
 ‘ the Army at Free-quarter, whereby they might
 ‘ gratify Licentiousness, while Soldiers were un-
 ‘ paid, and so left to live at Discretion; they pur-
 ‘ sue the former Method, complain of Burthens,
 ‘ cry down Excise and Taxes, but not a Word of
 ‘ Danger; they know without these, at present,
 ‘ an Army cannot be paid, or the Liberty of the
 ‘ People preserved: If this Art had succeeded, and
 ‘ the People had absolutely refused to pay, the Ar-
 ‘ my must either have come to Free-quarter, hea-
 ‘ vier than all Taxes, or must have broken, and
 ‘ then the Commonwealth had been again actually
 ‘ in the Hands of Tyranny.

‘ To persuade the People the better, they re-
 ‘ present unto them what vast Sums are daily levi-
 ‘ ed; tell of many Millions, with a sufficient Mul-
 ‘ tiplication, that have been collected, of which no
 ‘ Account, they say, can be given: That they are
 ‘ beyond all that ever was laid upon them by Mo-
 ‘ narchy in the worst of Times; and they leave no
 ‘ Way unattempted to aggravate every Inconve-
 ‘ nience, to make the People sensible of their Smart,
 ‘ that they may throw away their Plaister, and
 ‘ die of their Wounds: Indeed we cannot but ac-
 ‘ knowledge that the present Burthens are great,
 ‘ and we have Reason ourselves to be as sensible of
 ‘ them as any others, having no Exemption from
 ‘ them according to the Proportion of our Estates,
 ‘ wherever they lie: And there is nothing that is
 ‘ more in our Desires and Endeavours, than that
 ‘ we

‘ we may be able to abate the Taxes, and, in
 ‘ Time, to take them off, that the People might
 ‘ come to enjoy intirely the Fruit of that which
 ‘ hath cost them so dear; and we hope, through
 ‘ the Blessing of God, disposing the Minds of the
 ‘ People to a chearful Co-operation in this Work,
 ‘ with a Calmness and Patience for a little while
 ‘ longer, there will be a happy End of these Trou-
 ‘ bles, and a sure Settlement of the Peace of this
 ‘ Commonwealth, in the true, good, and just Li-
 ‘ berty of the People.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September,

‘ But, for the better Preservation of the People
 ‘ from the Distempers that might arise from such
 ‘ Suggestions, we desire them to consider that if
 ‘ the Burthens they bear be great, yet by whose
 ‘ Means, and for what Cause, were they laid on?
 ‘ Physic may be, and often is, more troublesome
 ‘ than the Disease; yet the Tendency of the one
 ‘ is to Health and Recovery, the other to Death;
 ‘ and from that Difference the Election is clear
 ‘ and easy: And though the Art of restoring a dis-
 ‘ located Joint is much more Torment than the
 ‘ quiet suffering of the present Pain, yet every Man
 ‘ prefers that Torment before Lameness. No Man
 ‘ refuseth to procure Antidotes in Time of epide-
 ‘ mical Diseases, though at very dear Rates, be-
 ‘ cause it is for his Preservation; nor to buy Food
 ‘ and Cloathing, because he cannot live without
 ‘ them. And we doubt not but, if Men would
 ‘ without Prejudice consider that they can no more
 ‘ live, or live free, without an Army, than without
 ‘ Food, as the present State of Affairs stand; and
 ‘ that they now are in Times of such general Di-
 ‘ stempers, as that there is need of such a Remedy,
 ‘ they would be beyond the Danger of being se-
 ‘ duced by these Pretences.

‘ And whereas the Liberty of the People is so
 ‘ highly cried up by these Deceivers, as being that
 ‘ for which Men must thus adventure all; we do
 ‘ acknowledge, that a just and well-regulated Li-
 ‘ berty, under just and good Laws that may pre-
 ‘ serve it from Participation of, or degenerating

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

‘into, Anarchy and Confusion, is a most desirable
 ‘Thing, and that which may deserve the utmost
 ‘Hazard of all that is dear to a Man; but we de-
 ‘fire them to consider, that this was seized into
 ‘such Hands as it could not be purchased from
 ‘without a vast Expence, nor secured without
 ‘Trouble and Charge; which we therefore, tho’
 ‘with a tender Sense and with much Reluctancy,
 ‘are, for the present, necessitated to raise. Those
 ‘who cry out upon it, and would have all Bur-
 ‘thens, all Taxes, taken off for the Liberty of the
 ‘People, are those who at best (if they be not pro-
 ‘fessedly Enemies) are yet acted and abused by
 ‘them, as Instruments to destroy all our true Li-
 ‘berties, to reduce us again under the Power of a
 ‘worse Tyranny, than we ever yet were under:
 ‘And to this the People must themselves be made
 ‘instrumental, while they pursue an empty Name
 ‘of that Thing, the Possession whereof they al-
 ‘ready have, and may keep and enjoy, if they
 ‘will not be abused by those who, under the Pre-
 ‘tence of that Name, which is in itself most de-
 ‘sirable, would bring into the Nation what in
 ‘themselves they have entertained, both in Prin-
 ‘ciple and Practice; namely, Atheism, Licentious-
 ‘ness, with Anarchy and Confusion of all Things.

‘We have thought it necessary, at this Time,
 ‘to make this Discovery of those Men, and to give
 ‘this Warning of them; and, God assisting us,
 ‘shall not cease to watch against, and suppress,
 ‘all their Designs, and oppose all their Practices:
 ‘And as our Duty is, in respect of our great Trust;
 ‘we shall endeavour to make the People happy;
 ‘and promote their Good; and shall not give over
 ‘that good Work for any Discouragements from
 ‘the Unkindness and Unthankfulness of those for
 ‘whom our Labours are intended.

‘And if we have suffered these Distempers to pro-
 ‘ceed thus far, and have not put forth the Power
 ‘that resides in us to secure the Commonwealth
 ‘and good Patriots from the Dangers that are here
 ‘represented; let it be considered what weighty
 ‘Af-

Affairs have been upon us, and how much hath
 been done since we were a Commonwealth.
 Besides that, the whole Body hath been in a long
 and dangerous Disease; and it could not be ex-
 pected but, though the Cure be perfect, yet many
 Humours would remain that might possibly be ca-
 pable to be altered; and, being so, be more pro-
 fitable to the Body than to be purged out; and
 we thought it convenient to wait, if their better
 Consideration of Affairs, and of their Duty,
 would reduce them to a better Temper: But now
 finding some incorrigible, and that our Tender-
 ness to their Errors (which we would willingly
 have called Mistakes) is interpreted to be Weak-
 ness and Fear by those that offend, and Slackness
 and Negligence by those who are in Danger; we
 do hereby declare, That we have resolved to al-
 ter that Course: And as Justice hath been lately
 done on some at *Oxford*, in a Military and Mar-
 tial Way, who were subject to that Jurisdiction,
 and shall be in like Manner on any other that
 shall so offend; so we have issued special Com-
 missions of *Oyer and Terminer*, for the speedy
 Trial of the Chief of those who have laid and car-
 ried on those dangerous Designs; and shall be
 ready to spare the rest for present, whose Repent-
 ance and Sorrow for their past Crimes may ren-
 der them capable of Mercy; and who shall give
 sufficient Security, that they will not hereafter
 endanger or disturb the Peace of the Common-
 wealth. And we do also hereby declare, That
 as we shall have in especial Esteem all good Pa-
 triots, and, for their just Advantage upon all Oc-
 casions, take Notice of those who deserve well of
 the Commonwealth; so if any shall hereafter
 practise against the Commonwealth and the pre-
 sent Government thereof, and shall offend against
 the Laws established, of whatever Quality, Con-
 dition, or Calling they are, there shall be a speedy
 and severe Proceeding against them, without Fa-
 vour or Respect of Persons; that we may, so far
 as God shall enable us, fulfil the End of Magis-
 tracy,

Inter-regnum.
1649.

September.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

into, Anarchy and Confusion, is a most desirable Thing, and that which may deserve the utmost Hazard of all that is dear to a Man; but we desire them to consider, that this was seized into such Hands as it could not be purchased from without a vast Expence, nor secured without Trouble and Charge; which we therefore, tho' with a tender Sense and with much Reluctancy, are, for the present, necessitated to raise. Those who cry out upon it, and would have all Burthens, all Taxes, taken off for the Liberty of the People, are those who at best (if they be not professedly Enemies) are yet acted and abused by them, as Instruments to destroy all our true Liberties, to reduce us again under the Power of a worse Tyranny, than we ever yet were under: And to this the People must themselves be made instrumental, while they pursue an empty Name of that Thing, the Possession whereof they already have, and may keep and enjoy, if they will not be abused by those who, under the Pretence of that Name, which is in itself most desirable, would bring into the Nation what in themselves they have entertained, both in Principle and Practice; namely, Atheism, Licentiousness, with Anarchy and Confusion of all Things.

We have thought it necessary, at this Time, to make this Discovery of those Men, and to give this Warning of them; and, God assisting us, shall not cease to watch against, and suppress, all their Designs, and oppose all their Practices: And as our Duty is, in respect of our great Trust, we shall endeavour to make the People happy, and promote their Good; and shall not give over that good Work for any Discouragements from the Unkindness and Unthankfulness of those for whom our Labours are intended.

And if we have suffered these Distempers to proceed thus far, and have not put forth the Power that resides in us to secure the Commonwealth and good Patriots from the Dangers that are here represented; let it be considered what weighty

‘ Af-

‘ Affairs have been upon us, and how much hath
 ‘ been done since we were a Commonwealth.
 ‘ Besides that, the whole Body hath been in a long
 ‘ and dangerous Disease; and it could not be ex-
 ‘ pected but, though the Cure be perfect, yet many
 ‘ Humours would remain that might possibly be ca-
 ‘ pable to be altered; and, being so, be more pro-
 ‘ fitable to the Body than to be purged out; and
 ‘ we thought it convenient to wait, if their better
 ‘ Consideration of Affairs, and of their Duty,
 ‘ would reduce them to a better Temper: But now
 ‘ finding some incorrigible, and that our Tender-
 ‘ ness to their Errors (which we would willingly
 ‘ have called Mistakes) is interpreted to be Weak-
 ‘ ness and Fear by those that offend, and Slackness
 ‘ and Negligence by those who are in Danger; we
 ‘ do hereby declare, That we have resolved to al-
 ‘ ter that Course: And as Justice hath been lately
 ‘ done on some at *Oxford*, in a Military and Mar-
 ‘ tial Way, who were subject to that Jurisdiction,
 ‘ and shall be in like Manner on any other that
 ‘ shall so offend; so we have issued special Com-
 ‘ missions of *Oyer and Terminer*, for the speedy
 ‘ Trial of the Chief of those who have laid and car-
 ‘ ried on those dangerous Designs; and shall be
 ‘ ready to spare the rest for present, whose Repent-
 ‘ ance and Sorrow for their past Crimes may ren-
 ‘ der them capable of Mercy; and who shall give
 ‘ sufficient Security, that they will not hereafter
 ‘ endanger or disturb the Peace of the Common-
 ‘ wealth. And we do also hereby declare, That
 ‘ as we shall have in especial Esteem all good Pa-
 ‘ triots, and, for their just Advantage upon all Oc-
 ‘ casions, take Notice of those who deserve well of
 ‘ the Commonwealth; so if any shall hereafter
 ‘ practise against the Commonwealth and the pre-
 ‘ sent Government thereof, and shall offend against
 ‘ the Laws established, of whatever Quality, Con-
 ‘ dition, or Calling they are, there shall be a speedy
 ‘ and severe Proceeding against them, without Fa-
 ‘ vour or Respect of Persons; that we may, so far
 ‘ as God shall enable us, fulfil the End of Magis-
 ‘ tracy,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

September.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October.

‘tracy, in being a Terror to the Evil-Doers, and
‘for the Praise and Encouragement of them that
‘do well.

HEN. SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

The same Day that the foregoing Declaration was pass’d, the House ordered that it be referred to the Council of State, to consider of such Persons now in Prison, or under Restraint, as are fit to receive Favour in pursuance thereof; and to give Order for their Discharge, they submitting to the Government now established, and giving Security not to endanger or disturb the Peace of the Commonwealth.

The Lord Mayor
of London pre-
sented to the Par-
liament for their
Approbation.

October. This Month began with the Ceremony of presenting a new Lord Mayor of *London* to the House for their Approbation. This Affair having never been practised before by the Commons, occasioned the more Formality about it, to stand as a Precedent for the future. Accordingly the Lord Mayor Elect being call’d into the House, the Recorder ^a made an eloquent Oration, as the *Journals* express it, reciting the great Providence of God, in these late Years, to the Parliament and Nation; and the constant Affection of the City to the Parliament and the Cause they engaged in: Declaring that the City had chosen Mr. Alderman *Thomas Foote*, to be Lord Mayor for the ensuing Year: He gave a large Testimony of the Fidelity, Integrity, and Abilities of the said Alderman, and his Qualification for that great Office and Trust; and desired the Approbation of the House to the said Election.

Being all withdrawn and call’d in again, the Speaker, by Direction of the House, spoke as follows:

My Lord Mayor Elect,

‘**Y**OU have been presented unto the Parlia-
‘ment of *England*, by Mr. Recorder, for
‘their Approbation; and the Parliament of *Eng-
‘land*

^a Mr. *Steele*, who had been appointed to that Office on the Removal of Mr. *Glynne*, one of the secluded Members.

‘land have commanded me, in their Names, to
 ‘declare unto you, That they do well approve and
 ‘confirm the Choice of you to be Lord Mayor of
 ‘the City of *London* for the Year ensuing: And,
 ‘out of their Experience of your great Service and
 ‘Fidelity to this Commonwealth and Parliament,
 ‘and the Confidence they have of your Abilities
 ‘for so high a Trust, they are well pleased that
 ‘such an eminent Stamp of Authority is so fitly
 ‘placed; and they have ordered that you shall be
 ‘sworn accordingly.’

Inter-regnum.
 1649.

October.

On the second of this Month the House receiv’d
 an Account from *Ireland* of the great Success
 of the Parliament’s Forces in that Kingdom. The
 Particulars of which will best appear from their
 Lord-Lieutenant’s Letters, as laid before them^b.

For the Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq; Speaker
 of the Parliament of England.

S I R,

Dublin, Sep. 17, 1649.

‘YOUR Army being safely arrived at *Dublin*,
 ‘and the Enemy endeavouring to draw all
 ‘his Forces together about *Trym* and *Tecroghan*,
 ‘as my Intelligence gave me; from whence En-
 ‘deavours were used by the Marquis of *Ormond*
 ‘to draw *Owen Roe O’Neal* with his Forces to his
 ‘Assistance, but with what Success I cannot yet
 ‘learn, I resolved, after some Refreshment taken
 ‘for our Weather-beaten Men and Horses, and
 ‘Accommodations for a March, to take the Field;
 ‘and accordingly, upon *Friday* the 30th of *Aug-*
 ‘*ust* last, rendezvous’d with eight Regiments of
 ‘Foot, six of Horse, and some Troops of Dragoons,
 ‘three Miles on the North Side of *Dublin*: The
 ‘Design was to endeavour the regaining of *Drogh-*
 ‘*beda*, or tempting the Enemy, upon his Hazard
 ‘of the Loss of that Place, to fight.

Gen. Cromwell’s
 Letters to them
 on his taking of
Drogheda.

‘Your

^b From the original Edition, printed by *John Field* for *Edward*
Husbands, Printer to the Parliament of England, and published by
 their Order.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

‘ Your Army came before the Town upon
 ‘ *Monday* following; where having pitched, as
 ‘ speedy Course was taken as could be to frame
 ‘ our Batteries, which took up the more Time,
 ‘ because divers of the battering Guns were on
 ‘ Ship board. Upon *Monday* the 9th of this In-
 ‘ stant the Batteries began to play; whereupon I
 ‘ sent Sir *Arthur Aston*, the then Governor, a
 ‘ Summons to deliver the Town to the Use of the
 ‘ Parliament of *England*; to the which receiving
 ‘ no satisfactory Answer, I proceeded that Day
 ‘ to beat down the Steeple of the Church on the
 ‘ South Side of the Town, and to beat down a
 ‘ Tower not far from the same Place, which you
 ‘ will discern by the Chart inclos’d.

‘ Our Guns not being able to do much that
 ‘ Day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our ut-
 ‘ most the next Day to make Breaches assaultable,
 ‘ and, by the Help of God, to storm them. The
 ‘ Place pitch’d upon was that Part of the Town
 ‘ Wall next a Church call’d *St Mary’s*; which
 ‘ was the rather chosen, because we did hope that
 ‘ if we did enter and possess that Church, we
 ‘ should be the better able to keep it against their
 ‘ Horse and Foot, untill we could make Way for
 ‘ the Entrance of our Horse, which we did not con-
 ‘ ceive that any Part of the Town would afford
 ‘ the like Advantage for that Purpose with this.
 ‘ The Batteries planted were two, one was for
 ‘ that Part of the Wall against the East End
 ‘ of the said Church, the other against the Wall
 ‘ on the South Side: Being somewhat long in bat-
 ‘ tering, the Enemy made six Retrenchments,
 ‘ three of them from the said Church to *Duleek*
 ‘ Gate, and three of them from the East End of
 ‘ the Church to the Town Wall, and so back-
 ‘ ward. The Guns, after some two or three hun-
 ‘ dred Shot, beat down the Corner Tower, and
 ‘ opened two reasonable good Breaches in the East
 ‘ and South Wall.

‘ Upon *Tuesday* the 10th of this Instant, about
 ‘ five o’Clock in the Evening, we began the Storm,
 ‘ and,

‘ and, after some hot Dispute, we entered about
 ‘ 7 or 800 Men, the Enemy disputing it very stiffly
 ‘ with us; and indeed, through the Advantages of
 ‘ the Place, and the Courage God was pleased to
 ‘ give the Defenders, our Men were forced to re-
 ‘ treat quite out of the Breach, not without some
 ‘ considerable Loss; Col. *Cassel* being there shot
 ‘ in the Head, whereof he presently died, and di-
 ‘ vers Officers and Soldiers, doing their Duty,
 ‘ kill’d and wounded. There was a Tenable to
 ‘ flanker the South Wall of the Town, between
 ‘ *Duleek* Gate and the Corner Tower before-men-
 ‘ ed, which our Men enter’d, wherein they found
 ‘ some forty or fifty of the Enemy, which they
 ‘ put to the Sword, and this they held; but it be-
 ‘ ing without the Wall, and the Salley-Port thro’
 ‘ the Wall into that Tenable being choak’d up with
 ‘ some of the Enemy which were kill’d in it, it
 ‘ prov’d of no Use for our Entrance into the Town
 ‘ that Way.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

‘ Although our Men that storm’d the Breaches
 ‘ were forced to recoil, as before is express’d, yet
 ‘ being encouraged to recover their Loss, they
 ‘ made a second Attempt, wherein God was plea-
 ‘ sed so to animate them, that they got Ground of
 ‘ the Enemy; and, by the Goodness of God, for-
 ‘ ced him to quit his Entrenchments; and, after
 ‘ a very hot Dispute, the Enemy having both
 ‘ Horse and Foot, and we only Foot within the
 ‘ Wall, they gave Ground, and our Men became
 ‘ Masters both of their Retrenchments and the
 ‘ Church; which, indeed, although they made our
 ‘ Enterance the more difficult, yet they prov’d of
 ‘ excellent Use to us, so that the Enemy could not
 ‘ annoy us with their Horse; but thereby we had
 ‘ Advantage to make good the Ground, that so
 ‘ we might let in our own Horse; which accord-
 ‘ ingly was done, though with much Difficulty.

‘ Divers of the Enemy retreated into the *Mill-
 Mount*, a Place very strong and of difficult Ac-
 ‘ cess, being exceeding high, having a good Graft
 ‘ and strongly pallisadoed. The Governor, Sir *Ar-*

thur

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October.

‘ *thur Aston* and divers considerable Officers be-
 ‘ ing there, our Men getting up to them, were or-
 ‘ dered by me to put them all to the Sword: And,
 ‘ indeed, being in the Heat of Action, I forbade
 ‘ them to spare any that were in Arms in the
 ‘ Town; and I think that Night they put to the
 ‘ Sword about 2000 Men, divers of the Officers and
 ‘ Soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other
 ‘ Part of the Town; where about 100 of them
 ‘ possess’d *St. Peter’s* Church Steeple, some the West
 ‘ Gate, and others a round strong Tower next the
 ‘ Gate call’d *St. Sunday’s*. These being summoned
 ‘ to yield to Mercy, refused; whereupon I ordered
 ‘ the Steeple of *St. Peter’s* Church to be fired,
 ‘ where one of them was heard to say in the Midst
 ‘ of the Flames, *God damn me, God confound me,*
 ‘ *I burn, I burn.*

‘ The next Day the other two Towers were
 ‘ summoned, in one of which was about six or
 ‘ seven Score, but they refused to yield themselves;
 ‘ and we knowing that Hunger must compel them,
 ‘ set only good Guards to secure them from run-
 ‘ ning away, untill their Stomachs were come down.
 ‘ From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding
 ‘ their Condition, they kill’d and wounded some
 ‘ of our Men. When they submitted, their Of-
 ‘ ficers were knock’d on the Head, and every tenth
 ‘ Man of the Soldiers kill’d, and the rest shipped
 ‘ for the *Barbadoes*. The Soldiers in the other
 ‘ Town were all spared as to their Lives only, and
 ‘ shipped likewise for the *Barbadoes*.

‘ I am persuaded that this is a righteous Judg-
 ‘ ment of God upon these barbarous Wretches,
 ‘ who have embrued their Hands in so much inno-
 ‘ cent Blood, and that it will tend to prevent
 ‘ the Effusion of Blood for the future; which are
 ‘ the satisfactory Grounds to such Actions, which
 ‘ otherwise cannot but work Remorse and Regret.
 ‘ The Officers and Soldiers of this Garrison were
 ‘ the Flower of their Army; and their great Ex-
 ‘ pectation was, that our attempting this Place
 ‘ would put fair to ruin us; they being confident
 ‘ of

‘ of the Resolution of their Men and the Advan-
 ‘ tage of the Place. If we had divided our Force
 ‘ into two Quarters, to have besieged the North
 ‘ Town and the South Town, we could not have
 ‘ had such a Correspondency between the two
 ‘ Parts of our Army; but that they might have
 ‘ chosen to have brought their Army, and have
 ‘ fought with which Part they pleased, and at the
 ‘ same Time have made a Sally with 2000 Men
 ‘ upon us, and have left their Walls mann’d, they
 ‘ having in the Town the Number hereafter spe-
 ‘ cified; but some say near 4000.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

‘ Since this great Mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent
 ‘ a Party of Horse and Dragoons to *Dundalk*, which
 ‘ the Enemy quitted, and we are possess’d of; as
 ‘ also another Castle they deserted between *Trym*
 ‘ and *Drogheda*, upon the *Boyne*. I sent a Party of
 ‘ Horse and Dragoons to a House within five Miles
 ‘ of *Trym*, there being then in *Trym* some *Scots*
 ‘ Companies, which the Lord of *Ardes* brought to
 ‘ assist the Lord of *Ormond*; but upon the News
 ‘ of *Drogheda* they ran away, leaving their great
 ‘ Guns behind them; which we also have pos-
 ‘ sess’d.

‘ And now give me Leave to say how it comes to
 ‘ pass that this Work is wrought: It was set upon
 ‘ some of our Hearts that a great Thing should be
 ‘ done; not by Power or Might, but by the Spirit
 ‘ of God; and is it not so clearly? That which
 ‘ caused your Men to storm so courageously, it was
 ‘ the Spirit of God who gave your Men Courage,
 ‘ and took it away again; and gave the Enemy
 ‘ Courage, and took it away again; and gave your
 ‘ Men Courage again, and therewith this happy
 ‘ Success; and therefore it is good that God alone
 ‘ have all the Glory.

‘ It is remarkable that these People at the first
 ‘ set up the Mass in some Places of the Town that
 ‘ had been Monasteries; but afterwards grew so
 ‘ insolent, that the last Lord’s Day before the
 ‘ Storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the
 ‘ great Church call’d *St. Peter’s*, and they had
 ‘ public

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

‘ public Mass there; and in this very Place near
 ‘ 1000 of them were put to the Sword, flying thi-
 ‘ ther for Safety. I believe all their Friars were
 ‘ knock’d on the Head promiscuously, but two,
 ‘ the one of which was Father *Peter Taaff*, Bro-
 ‘ ther to the Lord *Taaff*, whom the Soldiers took
 ‘ the next Day and made an End of; the other
 ‘ was taken in the Round Tower, under the Re-
 ‘ pute of a Lieutenant; and when he understood
 ‘ that the Officers in that Tower had no Quarter,
 ‘ he confess’d he was a Frier; but that did not save
 ‘ him.

‘ A great deal of Loss in this Business fell upon
 ‘ Col. *Hewson’s*, Col. *Cassell’s*, and Col. *Ewer’s*
 ‘ Regiments; Col. *Ewer* having two Field Offi-
 ‘ cers in his Regiment shot, Col. *Cassell* and a Cap-
 ‘ tain of his Regiment slain, Col. *Hewson’s* Captain-
 ‘ Lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost 100
 ‘ Men upon the Place, though many be wounded.

‘ I most humbly pray the Parliament may be
 ‘ pleased this Army may be maintained, and that a
 ‘ Consideration may be had of them; and of the
 ‘ carrying on Affairs here, as may give a speedy
 ‘ Issue to this Work, to which there seems to be a
 ‘ marvellous fair Opportunity offer’d by God. And
 ‘ although it may seem very chargeable to the State
 ‘ of *England* to maintain so great a Force, yet sure-
 ‘ ly to stretch a little for the present, in following
 ‘ God’s Providence, in hope the Charge will not
 ‘ be long, I trust it will not be thought by any (that
 ‘ have not irreconcilable or malicious Principles)
 ‘ unfit for me to move for a constant Supply, which,
 ‘ in human Probability, as to outward Means, is
 ‘ most likely to hasten and perfect this Work;
 ‘ and indeed, if God please to finish it here, as he
 ‘ hath done in *England*, the War is like to pay it-
 ‘ self.

‘ We keep the Field much, our Tents sheltering
 ‘ us from the Wet and Cold, but yet the Country
 ‘ Sickness overtakes many, and therefore we desire
 ‘ Recruits and some fresh Regiments of Foot may
 ‘ be sent us; for it is easily conceived, by what
 ‘ the

‘ the Garrisons already drink up, what our Field
‘ Army will come to, if God shall give more
‘ Garrisons into our Hands. Craving Pardon for
‘ this great Trouble, I rest

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

‘ P. S. Since writing of my Letter, a Major,
‘ who brought off 43 Horse from the Enemy, told
‘ me, that it is reported in their Camp that *Owen*
‘ *Roe* and they are agreed.

‘ The Defendants in *Drogheda* consisted of
‘ the Lord of *Ormond’s* Regiment, Sir *Edmund*
‘ *Verney* Lieutenant-Colonel, of 400; Col. *Byrn’s*,
‘ Col. *Warren’s*, and Col. *Wall’s*, of 2100; the
‘ Lord of *Westmeath’s*, of 200; Sir *James Dillon’s*,
‘ of 200; and 200 Horse.’

*Another LETTER from the LORD-LIEUTENANT
of Ireland.*

Mr. Speaker, Dublin, Sept. 27, 1649.

‘ I Had not received any Account from Col. *Ve-*
‘ *nables* (whom I sent from *Drogheda* to endea-
‘ vour the reducing of *Carlingford*, and so to march
‘ Northward towards a Conjunction with Sir *Charles*
‘ *Coot*) untill the last Night. After he came to
‘ *Carlingford*, having summoned the Place, both
‘ the three Castles and the Fort commanding the
‘ Harbour, were rendered to him; wherein were
‘ about 40 Barrels of Powder, seven Pieces of Can-
‘ non, about 1000 Muskets, and 500 Pikes want-
‘ ing 20. In the Entrance into the Harbour Capt.
‘ *Fern*, aboard your Man of War, had some Dan-
‘ ger, being much shot at from the Sea Fort, a Bul-
‘ let shooting through his Main Mast. The Cap-
‘ tain’s Entrance into that Harbour was a confi-
‘ derable Adventure, and a good Service; as also
‘ was Capt. *Brandley’s*, who, with 40 Seamen,
‘ storm’d a very strong Tenalia at *Drogheda*, and
‘ help’d to take it; for which he deserves an Own-
‘ ing

208 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October.

ing by you. *Venables* march'd from *Carlingford* with a Party of Horse and Dragoons to the *Newry*, leaving the Foot to come up after him. He summoned the Place, and it was yielded before his Foot came up to him. Some other Informations I have received from him, which promise well towards your Northern Interest; which, if well prosecuted, will, I trust God, render you a good Account of those Parts.

I have sent those Things to be presented to the Council of State for their Consideration. I pray God as these Mercies flow in upon you, he will give you an Heart to improve them to his Glory alone, because he alone is the Author of them, and of all the Goodness, Patience, and Long-suffering extended towards you. Your Army is march'd, and I believe this Night lieth at *Arello*, in the County of *Wicklo*, by the Sea Side, between 30 and 40 Miles from this Place. I am this Day, by God's Blessing, going towards it. I crave your Pardon for this Trouble, and rest

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

P. S. I desire the Supplies moved for may be hasten'd. I am verily persuaded, though the Burden be great, yet it is for your Service. If the Garrisons we take swallow up your Men, how shall we be able to keep the Field? Who knows but the Lord may pity *England's* Sufferings, and make a short Work of this? It is in his Hand to do it, and therein only your Servants rejoice.

I humbly present the Condition of Capt. *George Jenkins's* Widow. He died presently after *Tredagh* Storm. His Widow is in great Want.

The following Officers and Soldiers were slain at the storming of *Drogheda*; Sir *Arthur Aston*, Governor; Sir *Edmund Verney*, Lieut. Col. to *Ormond's* Regiment; Col. *Fleming*, Lieut. Col. *Finglass*, Major *Fitzgerald*, with eight Captains, Lieu-

Of ENGLAND. 209

' eight Lieutenants, and eight Cornets, all of Inter-regnum:
 ' Horse; Colonels *Warren*, *Wall*, and *Byrne*, of 1649.
 ' Foot, with their Lieutenants, Majors, &c. the
 ' Lord *Taaff's* Brother, an *Augustine* Fryer; 44
 ' Captains, and all their Lieutenants, Ensigns, &c.
 ' 220 Reformadoes and Troopers; 2500 Foot
 ' Soldiers, besides Staff-Officers, Surgeons, &c.
 ' and many Inhabitants.'

October.

Thus far the Account as laid before the House by *Cromwell*, the Parliament's Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, the Regal Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in his Letters to King *Charles* the Second and Lord *Byron*^a, in relation to the Storming of *Drogheda*, remarks, 'That on this Occasion *Cromwell* exceeded himself, and any Thing he had ever heard of, in Breach of Faith and bloody Inhumanity; and that the Cruelties exercised there for five Days after the Town was taken, would make as many several Pictures of Inhumanity as are to be found in the *Book of Martyrs*, or in the Relation of *Amboyna*.' General *Ludlow* writes^b, 'That the Slaughter was continued all the Day of the Storming, and the next; which extraordinary Severity was used to discourage others from making Opposition.' And it is observable that this terrible Slaughter, charged upon *Cromwell* is so far from being palliated or excused in his own Letters, that he seems to look upon the *Irish* as a Body of *Ama- lekites*, destin'd to Destruction by Divine Vengeance, and himself as the Executioner only of the Almighty's Resentment. And accordingly a Writer of his Life terms this extraordinary Act of Cruelty a Sacrifice of 3000 *Irish* to the Ghosts of
 VOL. XIX. O 10,000

^a *Carte's* Life of *James* Duke of *Ormond*, Vol. II. p. 84. See also Lord *Clarendon's* Vindication of the Marquis's Conduct, p. 130, and 349; his History of the Rebellion, Vol. V. 8vo. p. 341; and *Hugh Peters's* Letter in *Whitlocke's* Memorials, p. 411.

^b *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 303.

210 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum. 10,000 *English*, whom they had massacred some Years before^c.
1649.

October.

A Thanksgiving-Day appointed on that Occasion.

How agreeable the Conduct of General *Cromwell* in this Affair was to his Masters, appears by the Resolutions of the House after reading the foregoing Letters. For they appointed a Thanksgiving-Day to be held on the first of *November* ensuing, throughout the whole Kingdom. They likewise ordered that a Declaration should be prepared and sent into the several Counties, signifying the Grounds for setting a-part that Day of public Thanksgiving. A Letter of Thanks was also voted to be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to be communicated to the Officers there; in which Notice was to be taken, That the House did approve of the Execution done at *Drogheda*, as an Act both of Justice to them, and Mercy to others who may be warned by it.

On the 11th of this Month the Declaration before-mentioned was brought into the House by Sir *William Malsbam*, read, and agreed to, as follows:

And a Declaration of the Reasons thereof.

THE great and wonderful Providences wherein the Lord hath eminently gone forth in Mercy towards this Nation have been such, that however many do shut their Eyes, or murmur against them, or at least refuse to join in public Acknowledgments and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the same; nevertheless the Lord hath been pleased to publish to all the World, That it is the Work of his own Hand: Nor hath his infinite Goodness and Favour been restrained to *England* only, but extended into *Ireland*, which he hath been pleased to remember in its low Estate

^c *The History of the Life and Death of his Most Serene Highness, Oliver Lord Protector; wherein, from his Cradle to his Tomb, are impartially transmitted to Posterity, the most weighty Transactions, foreign and domestick, that have happened in his Time, either in Matters of Law, Proceedings in Parliament, or other Affairs in Church or State. By S. Carrington. Printed for Nath. Brook, in Cornhill, 1659.*

‘ Estate; and when his People there were as dry
 ‘ Bones, he hath not only revived them in a Way
 ‘ almost as miraculous as a Resurrection from the
 ‘ Dead, but been pleased to raise both them and us
 ‘ to a high Pitch of Hope that the Lord will go
 ‘ on to perfect his Work in that Land, and make
 ‘ it likewise, at last, a quiet Habitation for his
 ‘ People, and establish the Power and Purity of the
 ‘ Gospel there. The Consideration whereof, and
 ‘ of the Goodness and Power of God in the late
 ‘ wonderful Victory which he hath been pleased to
 ‘ give unto the Parliament’s Forces there before
 ‘ *Dublin*, never to be forgotten; and the further
 ‘ Progress God hath made in giving *Drogheda*, a
 ‘ Place of great Strength and Consequence, de-
 ‘ fended by a considerable Number of their prime
 ‘ Officers and Soldiers, the Particulars whereof are
 ‘ expressed in the Lord-Lieutenant’s and other Let-
 ‘ ters lately printed; and since that, by striking a
 ‘ Terror into the Hearts of the Enemy, so as they
 ‘ have yielded up or deserted many other consider-
 ‘ able Castles and Garrisons, as *Trym*, *Dundalk*,
 ‘ *Carlingford*, the *Newry*, and other Places, and
 ‘ some other additional Victories which God hath
 ‘ cast in since, cannot but make a deep Impression
 ‘ on the Hearts of all that fear the Lord, and pro-
 ‘ voke them to exceeding Thankfulness and Re-
 ‘ joicing.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

‘ Upon Consideration of all which the Parlia-
 ‘ ment, out of their deep Sense of so great conti-
 ‘ nued Mercies, have thought fit, as in Duty to
 ‘ God, to set a-part a Day for public and solemn
 ‘ Thanksgiving to the Lord, the Author of these
 ‘ Mercies: And they do therefore enact and or-
 ‘ dain, &c.’

The House ordered 12,000 Copies of this De-
 claration to be forthwith printed, and sent to the
 several Sheriffs, to be by them dispersed to the Mi-
 nisters of every Parish in their respective Counties,
 who were requir’d to read it to their Congregations.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October.

The Parliament
resolve that an
Engagement to
be true to the
Commonwealth
Government, be
subscribed by all
public Officers.

The same Day that the foregoing Declaration was agreed to, a Resolution was also pass'd, That every Member who then did, or should hereafter, sit in that House, should subscribe his Name to the following Engagement, viz.

I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords. And that these Subscriptions should begin the next Morning :

Accordingly, the next Day, Oct. 12. the Speaker first, and afterwards divers Members of the House, did subscribe this Engagement.

Ordered also that the General, and all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army should do the same : That the Judges of the several Courts at *Westminster*, all the Serjeants at Law, Counsellors, Officers, Ministers, and Clerks, and all Attornies and Solicitors, should subscribe this Engagement. The same Orders were sent into *Ireland* ; to the Lord Mayor of *London* ; to the Generals, and Admirals of the Fleets at Sea ; to the Judges of the Courts of Admiralty and the Civil Law ; to the Readers, Benchers, &c. of the several Inns of Court and Chancery : In short, to all and singular Persons that bore any Office, Civil, Religious, or Military, and those under them, throughout all *England*, *Wales*, and all the *English* Dominions ; who were to subscribe this Engagement, or else be rendered incapable of holding any such Office or Employment, public or private, for ever after ^y.

The House also ordered the Style, heretofore used in the Orders and Acts of the House, viz. *By the Commons in Parliament assembled*, to be altered and no more used, but, instead thereof, these Words, viz. *By the Parliament*. As the first Instance

^y See the *Commons Journals* and *Scobell's Acts* for the whole Detail of those Persons who were to be Subscribers to this Engagement. It was afterwards made Part of the Oath to be taken by the Judges, Sheriffs, and all other public Officers in the Nation.

stance of which it was, at the same Time, ordered, That the Title to the Engagement be changed, and made *Resolved by the Parliament, &c.*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October.

The principal Employment of the House, for many Months ensuing, was little else than reading Letters of the great Success of the Parliament's Forces in *Ireland*, raising an Army to march into *Scotland* upon that Nation's declaring for King *Charles II.* and laying Taxes for the Support of these expensive Expeditions. Before we enter into this Military Scene, it may be necessary to take a Review of the House, in order to account for their extraordinary Unanimity in every Question hitherto that regarded the Establishment of their new Commonwealth, and their no less remarkable Concurrence with the Council of State. The Reader cannot but remember the Garbling of the House by the Army in the Beginning of *December*, 1648: That on the first of *February* following, those Members who were permitted to keep their Seats, pass'd a Resolution, That all such who had concurred in the Vote of *Dec. 5*, 'That the King's Concessions were a Ground of Peace,' be disabled from sitting for the future; and that those who were absent at the Time of passing that Vote, should enter their Dissent thereto, previous to their Admission into the House.

A Review of
some other Tests,
before required to
be taken by their
own Members.

These Resolutions had so greatly reduced the Number of acting Members, that there are many more Instances of Divisions in which the whole Number present fell short of fifty than exceeded it; and of these most of them were Members of the Council of State as well as of the Parliament: Notwithstanding all which, they were so apprehensive of the many Attempts to subvert their ill-gotten Power, that on the 5th of *March* they appointed a Committee, consisting of Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Luke Robinson*, and Col. *Ludlow*, to dive into each particular Member's Sentiments; which Unparliamentary and Unconstitutional Measure

Inter-regnum.

1649.

October.

cannot be better describ'd than in the last-named Gentleman's own Words^o:

'The Parliament being desirous to exclude from their Places those who were likely to undo what they had done; and yet, unwilling to lose the Assistance of many honest Men, who had been in the Country during the late Transactions, pass'd an Order, That such Members as had not sat since the Trial of the King, should not be admitted to sit, till the House should be particularly satisfied concerning them; appointing the above-mention'd five, or any three of them, to be a Committee, to receive Satisfaction touching the Affections of every Member to the Public Interest, who had not sat since the Time aforesaid, and the Reason of his Absence; and to make their Report to the Parliament concerning them.'

Our Memorialist proceeds to observe, 'That the new Commonwealth beginning to acquire Reputation, and to carry a fair Probability of Success, divers Members who had been long absent, address'd themselves to the Committee before-mentioned, in order to their Admission to sit in Parliament, and some of them would not scruple to give any Satisfaction that was desired to the Questions propos'd unto them; which were, Whether they join'd in or approved that Vote, declaring the King's Concessions a Ground for a future Settlement? Whether they approved of the Proceedings against the King? And whether they would engage to be true to a Commonwealth Government? But we, says he, apprehending such extraordinary Expulsions as had been lately used, to be extremely hazardous to the Public Safety, made it our Endeavour to keep those from a Re-admission, who might necessitate another Occasion of using the like Remedy: And therefore, though all possible Satisfaction was given in Words, we did, by weighing the former Deportment of every particular Member who presented himself, desire to be

in

in some Measure assured, that they would be true to what they promised, (in case the Commonwealth Interest should come to be disputed) before we would report their Condition to the House.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
October.

The Names of the Members who submitted to be examined by this Committee, and were accordingly re-admitted into the House, together with such as were elected since the Death of the King, are entered in the *Journals* on their respective Days of Admission; and from these Authorities we have extracted the following List of them; which, added to those who entered their Dissent to the Vote for Peace, already given in our Eighteenth Volume^m, will point out who were the principal Actors at this important Crisis.

<i>Richard Aldworth, Esq;</i>	<i>Bristol.</i>
<i>Robert Andrews, Esq;</i>	<i>Weobley.</i>
<i>Henry Arthington, Esq;</i>	<i>Pontefract.</i>
<i>Sir John Barrington, Bart.</i>	<i>Newton, Hants.</i>
<i>Abraham Burrell, Esq;</i>	<i>Huntingdon.</i>
<i>Nathaniel Bacon, Esq;</i>	<i>Cambridge University.</i>
<i>Francis Bacon, Esq;</i>	<i>Ipswich.</i>
<i>John Barker, Esq;</i>	<i>Coventry.</i>
<i>Col. Thomas Birch,</i>	<i>Liverpool.</i>
<i>Peter Brooke, Esq;</i>	<i>Newton, Lancashire.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Barnardiston,</i>	<i>St. Edmund's Bury.</i>
<i>Sir Nath. Barnardiston,</i>	<i>Suffolk.</i>
<i>Mr. Cromptonⁿ,</i>	
<i>William Carew, Esq;</i>	<i>Milborne-Port.</i>
<i>Thomas Cholmley, Esq;</i>	<i>Carlisle.</i>
<i>Henry Darley, Esq;</i>	<i>Malton.</i>
<i>John Dormer, Esq;</i>	<i>Buckingham.</i>
<i>William Ellis, Esq;</i>	<i>Boston.</i>
<i>Richard Edwards, Esq;^o</i>	<i>Bedford.</i>
<i>Thomas Lord Fairfax,</i>	<i>Girencester.</i>
<i>Charles Fleetwood, Esq;</i>	<i>Marlborough.</i>
<i>Thomas Fell, Esq;</i>	<i>Lancaster.</i>

Col.

^m P. 482 and 549.

ⁿ We have not been able to find out what Place this Gentleman serv'd for.

^o At p. 14, in our Ninth Volume, this Gentleman is said to have been elected in Nov. 1650; but it should be 1648.

216 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

October,

Col. George Fenwick,	Morpeth.
Brampton Gurdon, Esq;	Sudbury.
Thomas Hoyle, Esq;	York.
Thomas Hufsey, Esq;	Whitchurch.
Thomas Hodges, Esq;	Cricklade.
Sir Henry Hayman, Bart.	Hythe.
Edward Lord Howard of Eskrick,	Carliste.
Philip Lord Herbert,	Glamorgan.
John Lenthall, Esq;	Gloucester.
John Lowry, Esq;	Cambridge.
Lislebone Long, Esq;	Wells.
Sir Richard Lucy, Bart.	Old Sarum.
Christopher Martin, Esq;	Plympton.
John Moyle, sen. Esq;	Eaflow.
— Neville, Esq;	Retford.
Henry Neville, Esq;	Abingdon.
Sir Roger North, Knt.	Eye.
Philip Earl of Pembroke,	Berkshire.
Francis Pierpoint, Esq;	Nottingham.
Thomas Pury, Esq;	Gloucester.
Gervase Piggot, Esq;	Nottinghamshire.
Carew Raleigh, Esq;	Haselmere.
Nathaniel Rich, Esq;	Cirencester.
Col. Francis Russel,	Cambridgeshire.
William Earl of Salisbury,	Lynne.
Sir Will. Strickland, Knt.	Heydon.
George Snelling, Esq;	Southwark.
Augustine Skinner, Esq;	Kent.
William Sydenham, Esq;	Melcombe-Regis.
Thomas Stockdale, Esq;	Knaresbrough.
Sir Peter Temple, Bart.	Buckingham.
Sir John Trevor, Knt.	Grampound.
Edmund West, Esq;	Buckinghamshire.

Lord Clarendon ^p imputes the Return of many of these Gentlemen to their Seats to a Desire of not being idle when so much Business was to be done. But adds, That others forbore, either out of Conscience or Indignation, coming to the House any more for many Years; and some of them not before

fore the Meeting of the Convention-Parliament which restor'd the King. Inter-regnum,
1649.

October,

There is nothing else remarkable in the Proceedings of this Month, only, at the latter End of it, an Account came from *Ireland* of the taking of *Wexford* by the Parliament's Forces. The Letters from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* on this Occa- *Wexford taken
by Cromwell.* sion are mentioned in the *Journals*, but not enter'd there, nor have we any Copy of them in our *Collections*; we must therefore content ourselves with such Accounts as History affords us.

Mr. *Ludlow* writes ^g, 'That the Guard appointed to defend the Castle of *Wexford* quitted their Post while a Treaty was in Hand about a Surrender, whereupon some of the Parliament's Forces entered it, and set up their Colours at the Top of it; which the Enemy having observ'd, left their Stations in all Parts, so that the Besiegers Foot possess'd themselves of the Town without Opposition, and opened the Gates for the Horse to enter.' He adds, 'That great Riches were taken in this Town, it being accounted by the Enemy a Place of Strength; and some Ships were seized in the Harbour, which had much interrupted the Commerce of that Coast: That Commissioners were appointed by the Lieutenant-General to take Care of the Goods that were found in the Town belonging to the Rebels, that they might be improved to the best Advantage of the Public.'

A modern Historian ^h, who is very particular in his Account of the taking of *Wexford*, informs us that the Place was betray'd; and imputes *Cromwell's* Success as much to the good Intelligence he kept in those Parts, as to his Arms.

The Parliament ordered their Lord Lieutenant's Account of this Action to be published by the Clergy in their respective Congregations, on the Day appointed for a Thanksgiving to God for their late Success at *Drogheda*.

No-

^g *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 303.

^h *Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond*, Vol. II. p. 90.

218 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

November. The first of this Month was observed as a general Day of Thanksgiving throughout the whole Kingdom, for the foregoing Victory at *Drogheda* and others obtained since in *Ireland*. Two Sermons were preached before the House at *Margaret's Westminster*, as it was then call'd; and the Preachers, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Sterry*, had Thanks next Day returned them for their great Pains taken therein.

Nov. 6. Mr. *Trenchard* reported, from the Commissioners for compounding with Delinquents, an Estimate of what might arise out of that Branch of the Parliament's Revenue, towards a certain Payment of their Army, in order to an Abatement of the present Assessment of 90,000 *l. per Menssem*; whereby it appeared that

There was due upon Bonds from	}	213,325 9 4
Delinquents		
And upon Fines whereof no Part	}	156,447 0 0
was yet paid		
		369,772 9 4

The Monthly Assessment for the Army farther continued.

But that the Payment of these was not to be depended upon with any Certainty. Hereupon the House resolved, That the Assessment of 90,000 *l. per Menssem* be farther continued to *Lady-Day*, and an Assessment of 60,000 *l.* from that Time to *Midsummer* ensuing, for the Maintenance of the Army.

The Continuance of this excessive Burden upon the Public, must convince them how wretched a Change they had made from Monarchy to a Commonwealth. But the Case of the unhappy Royalists will appear still harder by the above Calculation of the great Sums they then ow'd, besides what they had already paid; for their several Compositions.

In the Course of these Parliamentary Inquiries there is little or no Notice taken of what was now become of the banished Branches of the Royal Family; but they are not so neglected in the Histories of

of these Times, particularly in Lord *Clarendon*; who, as he was a Fellow-Traveller with them, and a Sharer in their evil Fortune at that Time, is very copious and exact in his History of it. The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* also is not wanting in tracing the unfortunate Prince, whom he calls Prince *Charles*, from Place to Place; and as this Memorialist, besides his great Office in Chancery, was also a Member of Parliament, and one of the Council of State, no doubt he had the best Intelligence from abroad about him; especially since we find the new Government here kept a watchful and jealous Eye over all the young King's Actions; for this Memorialist tells us, 'That they had good Intelligence of all the Transactions of the Prince and his Council, which they procured by Money, of which some of the Prince's own Servants were so needy that they would betray their Master for it.'

Inter-regnum.
1649.

November.

And accordingly we find that, about this Time, King *Charles II.* the Parliament received Advice, 'That *Charles* lands in the Isle of *Stuart*, eldest Son of the late King had left *St. of Jersey*, *Germain*, and was arrived in the Island of *Jersey*, with a Retinue of about 300 Persons, where he had been proclaimed King; and that, upon an Invitation from the Marquis of *Ormond*, he intended speedily to embark for *Dublin*.'

His Majesty continued in *Jersey* some Months; but being inform'd of *Cromwell*'s great Successes in *Ireland*, gave over all Thoughts of going thither, and removed to *Breda*; where Commissioners from the States of *Scotland* having attended on him with some Propositions for his Restoration, he resolved to embark for that Kingdom. During his Stay in the Island of *Jersey*, he issued the following Declaration; which, as the Press was at this Time under so heavy an Embargo in *England* by the late Licensing Act, we may well presume could not be printed in this Kingdom; and that probably was the Reason of its being done at the *Hague*.

And publishes a
Declaration of
his Right to the
Crown.

His

P Printed by *Samuel Brown*, English Bookseller, dwelling in the Achter-Orn, at the Sign of the English Printing-house.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION to all his loving Subjects in his Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, published with the Advice of his Privy Council.

CHARLES, the Second of that Name, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Persons within our Kingdom of England and Dominion of *Wales*, to whom these Presents shall come, greeting.

WE cannot, without unspeakable Grief and Sorrow, call to Mind, nor, without Horror, express, how that our Dear and Royal Father, King Charles, of ever blessed Memory, hath been most barbarously and most cruelly murdered by the Hands of bloody Traitors and Rebels, within our Kingdom of England, with Proceedings and Circumstances so prodigious, that the Particulars induce rather Amazement than Expression: And although we have hitherto seemed silent in a Matter so highly concerning us, as not publickly to express to the People of England our Grief of Heart and high Detestation of that heinous Fact; yet being now safely arrived in a small Part of our own Dominions, at the Island of Jersey, we have thought fit rather from hence, where our Kingly Authority takes Place, than from any foreign Country, where we have been hitherto necessitated to reside, publickly to declare, That, out of a bitter Sense and Indignation of those horrid Proceedings against our dear Father, we are, according to the Laws of Nature and Justice, firmly resolved, by the Assistance of Almighty God, though we perish alone in the Enterprize, to be a severe Avenger of his innocent Blood, which was so barbarously spilt, and which calls so loud to Heaven for Vengeance. And we shall therein, by all Ways and Means possible, endeavour to pursue and bring to their due Punishment those bloody Traitors, who were either Actors or Contrivers of that unparalell'd and inhuman Murder

And

And since it hath pleased God so to dispose, as by such an untimely Martyrdom to deprive us of so good a Father, and England of so gracious a King, we do further declare, That, by his Death, the Crown of England, with all Privileges, Rights, and Prebeminences belonging thereunto, is, by a clear and undoubted Right of Succession, justly and lineally descended upon us; as next and immediate Heir and Successor thereunto, without any Condition or Limitation; without any Intermission or Claim; without any Ceremony or Solemnity whatsoever: And that, by virtue thereof, we are now in Right lawfully seized of the said Crown, and ought, by the Laws of God, and that Nation, to enjoy a Royal Power there, as well in Church as Commonwealth; to govern the People of that Kingdom according to the antient and known Laws; to maintain them in Peace and Justice; and to protect and defend them from the Oppression of any usurped Power whatsoever. And the People of that Nation, by the like Laws, owe unto us, and ought reciprocally to pay, Duty and Obedience, as unto their Liege Lord and Sovereign. This Royal Right of ours is grounded upon so clear a Title, is settled by such fundamental Laws, confirmed by so many Oaths of Allegiance in all Ages, is supported by such a long-continued Succession in our Royal Progenitors, and by such a constant Submission of all the People, that the same can admit of no Dispute: No Act of our Predecessors can debar us of it; no Power on Earth can justly take it from us; and, by the undoubted Laws of that Nation, to oppose us, either in the Claim or Exercise thereof, is a Treason of the highest Degree.

And although the bloody Contrivers of our Father's Murder, out of a pernicious Hatred to all Monarchies, have by Force, as much as in them lies, disinherited us of our Princely Right thereunto; banish'd and proscrib'd us; seized all our Revenues; prohibited all Intercourse and Supplies to be sent to us; and have, by Violence, imposed upon the People of England a new Yoke of popular Tyranny, to the utter Subversion not only of our just Rights, but of their
Laws

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

Laws and Liberties; yet we do profess that we cannot persuade ourself that the Body of the English Nation hath so far degenerated from their antient Loyalty and Virtue, as to consent to these horrid Proceedings against us, or to approve the casting off that Kingly Government under which they and their Forefathers have happily flourished so many Ages past, to the Envy of all their Neighbour Nations. How can that once happy Nation of England despair of blessed Days under a Royal Scepter, and vainly hope for them under the Iron Rod of an insolent Multitude? No, we cannot look upon these sad and dismal Changes as the Desires or Intentions of the better Part of our Subjects of that Kingdom; but rather as the Designs and Contrivances of those wicked Murderers of our Father; whose Ambition is endless; whose Avarice is unsatiable; and whose Guilt hath made them desperate: And therefore, out of a Confidence we have of the Loyalty and good Affections of many of our Subjects of that Nation, and as well for their Encouragement, who still persist in their natural Allegiance and Obedience to us, as for the Security of such as shall yet return to their Duties and Loyalties, we have thought fit hereby further to declare,

That we are graciously pleased to receive all Persons of our Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, other than such who voted or acted in that bloody Murder of our dear Father, into our Royal Grace, Mercy, and Protection; owning and esteeming them all as our good and loving Subjects, whom, upon Access to our Kingly Authority, we shall hold ourself bound, according to the Law of God, the known Laws of that Nation, and the Duty of our Kingly Office, to protect, maintain, and preserve in Wealth, Peace, and Happiness. And for a clear Evidence of our good Intentions towards them, we shall be contented freely to pardon, or otherwise by Act to declare or hold indemnified, all Persons within our said Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, except as before excepted, for any Matters whatsoever relating to the late unhappy Wars and Distractions. And we shall, according to the Example of our dear Father

ther, be ready, upon the Establishment of our Royal Throne, to make such further Concessions, for the Satisfaction and Security of our good Subjects in general, and of all Interests in particular, as shall be adjudged most to conduce to the Peace and Happiness of that Kingdom.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

November.

And we do further declare, That we shall give our utmost Assistance to restore Parliaments to their antient Dignity and Honour, and shall preserve their just Privileges, and join to repair all those Injuries and Affronts which have been done to the Members of that High Court.

And because all Ways of gaining a mutual Confidence betwixt us and our good Subjects are at present obstructed, by the usurp'd Force and Power now prevalent in that Kingdom, we are therefore resolved to make Use of such Expedients as shall be necessary for the Suppression of that tyrannical and unjust Power now exercised over them, and for bringing to their due Punishment those bloody Murderers of our dear Father; for shaking off the heavy Burdens and Taxes they now groan under, and for restoring our just Rights, and the antient Liberties and Freedom of the English Nation; not doubting but we shall find all our good Subjects ready to concur and to assist us in our just and pious Undertakings for those Ends.

And, in the mean Time, we require and command all our said Subjects, according to their Duty to God, their Allegiance to us, their several Oaths and Protestations, and the Love and Affection they bear to the Peace of their native Country, that they do not betray their lawful King, nor the glorious Liberties and Laws of England, into a perpetual Slavery, by Acknowledgment of, or voluntary Submission to, any new Forms or Models of Government, under the Name or Mask of a Free State, nor under any other Title or Pretence whatsoever.

Given at our Court at Castle-Elizabeth, in our Isle of Jersey, the 31st Day of October, 1649, in the first-Year of our Reign.

On

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

On the 24th of last Month the House having received Information that *Clement Walker*, Esq; (one of the secluded Members) had published a Book, intituled, *Anarchia Anglicana*^a, he was ordered to be sent for in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, with Power to enter into any House, and break open any Doors or Locks for that Purpose; also to search for, and seize, all his Papers and Writings. And it was referred to the Council of State to find out the Printers and Publishers of the said Book, and all others who had any Hand therein. On the 13th of this Month Mr. *Walker* having been apprehended accordingly, he was committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, in order to his Trial for High Treason. Whoever peruses this Piece will be at no Loss to account for the Parliament's high Resentment against the Author of it.

Nov. 16. This Day came a Letter from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, concerning the Surrender of the Town of *Ros*, in *Ireland*, address'd to the Speaker^b.

*S I R,**Ros, Oct. 25, 1649.*

The Town of
Ros surrendered
to *Cromwell*.

‘ Since my last from *Wexford*, we marched to
‘ *Ros*, a wall'd Town, situated upon the *Bar-*
‘ *row*, a Port Town, up to which a Ship of 7 or 800
‘ Tons may come. We came before it upon
‘ *Wednesday* the 17th Inst. with three Pieces of
‘ Cannon: That Evening I sent a Summons;
‘ Major-General *Taaff* being Governor, refused
‘ to admit my Trumpet into the Town, but took
‘ the Summons in, returning me no Answer. I
‘ did hear that near 1000 Foot had been put into
‘ this

^a This makes the Second Part of *The History of Independency*, publish'd in the Name of *Theodorus Verax*. A Third Part was afterwards published, by the same Author, intituled, *The High Court of Justice, or Cromwell's new Slaughter-House in England*. It is highly probable, from many Circumstances, that Mr. *Prynne* had a Share in this Performance. It was reprinted in 1660, with Mr. *Walker's* Name to it, and a Fourth Part added by another Hand.

^b From the original Edition printed by *John Field* for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Parliament of *England*.

Inter-regnum
1649.

November,

‘ this Place some few Days before my Coming to
‘ it. The next Day was spent in making Prepa-
‘ rations for our Battery; and in our View therē
‘ were boated over from the other Side of the Ri-
‘ ver, of *English, Scots, and Irish*, 1500 more, *Or-*
‘ *mond, Castlehaven,* and the Lord of *Ardes*, being
‘ on the other Side of the Water to cause it to be
‘ done.

‘ That Night we planted our Battery, which
‘ begun to play very early the next Morning. The
‘ Governor immediately sent forth an Answer to
‘ my Summons, Copies of all which I make bold
‘ herewith to trouble you; the rather, because you
‘ may see how God pulls down proud Stomachs.
‘ He desired Commissioners might treat, and that
‘ in the mean Time there might be a ceasing of
‘ Acts of Hostility on both Sides; which I refus-
‘ ed, sending in Word, That if he would march
‘ away with Arms, Bag and Baggage, and give me
‘ Hostages for Performance, he should. Indeed
‘ he might have done it without my Leave, by the
‘ Advantage of the River. He insisted upon ha-
‘ ving the Cannon with him, which I would not
‘ yield unto, but required the leaving the Artillery
‘ and Ammunition; which he was content to do,
‘ and march’d away leaving the great Artillery, and
‘ the Ammunition in the Stores to me.

‘ When they march’d away, at least 500 *Eng-*
‘ *lish*, many of them of the *Munster Forces*, came
‘ to us.

‘ *Ormond* is at *Kilkenny*, *Inchiquin* in *Munster*,
‘ *Henry O’Neal*, *Owen Roe’s Son*, is come up to
‘ *Kilkenny*, with near 2000 Horse and Foot, with
‘ whom and *Ormond* there is now a perfect Con-
‘ junction: So that now, I trust, some angry
‘ Friends will think it high Time to take off their
‘ Jealousy from those to whom they ought to exer-
‘ cise more Charity.

‘ The Rendition of this Garrison was a season-
‘ able Mercy, as giving us an Opportunity towards
‘ *Munster*, and is for the present a very good Re-
‘ freshment for our Men. We are able to say no-

226 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

‘ thing as to all this, but that the Lord is still pleased to own a Company of poor worthless Creatures; for which we desire his Name to be magnified, and the Hearts of all concerned may be provoked to walk worthy of such continued Favours. This is the earnest Desire of

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

‘ *P. S.* Col. *Horton* is lately dead of the Country Disease, leaving a Son behind him. He was a Person of great Integrity and Courage: His former Services, especially that of the last Summer, I hope will be had in Remembrance.’

The House ordered the foregoing Letter, with the Articles of Surrender, to be printed and published; but the latter are rather foreign to our Purpose, and the Substance of them is given in the Letter itself. They likewise referred it to the Council of State to send over Supplies of all Kinds forthwith to the Army in *Ireland*.

In the Proceedings of this Month, as Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us, ‘ There was a great Peak taken against the Lawyers; insomuch that the old Odium against them was revived, and it was said in the Debate, ‘ That it was not fit for Lawyers, who were Members of Parliament, if any Lawyers ought to be there at all, to plead or practise as Lawyers during the Time they sat as Members of Parliament;’ which gave Occasion to one of that Profession, meaning himself, to speak as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Whitlocke*’s Speech in favour of Lawyers being elected Members of Parliament.

‘ I Was unwilling again to have troubled you upon this Argument, had I not been again call’d up by the Mistakes of the worthy Gentleman that spoke last, to give a true Account of these Matters, and to vindicate the Honour of that Profession whereof I am an unworthy Member.

‘ The

‘ The Gentleman was pleased to intimate, *That Lawyers were heretofore excluded from being Members of Parliament*: I suppose he had not much studied the Records of that Matter, and therefore related the Discourses of others by hearsay only; but for his Conviction, and for the Satisfaction of others, I shall acquaint you with the clear Passages of what he aimed at, as I suppose; and as I find them upon Record, which is much more authentic than some (perhaps) Table-Talk, or Discourses at random.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
November,

‘ The Statute 23, *Edw. III.* call’d the Members of Parliament *the learned Men*; whereof many were learned in the Laws, and therefore supposed to have had that Title. But shortly after this the great Men degenerating, in the old Age of the same King, into several Factions, and being much offended with those who were learned in the Laws, because they hindered their Oppressions by pleading the Right of Law on the Behalf of their Clients, in 46 *Edw. III.* they petition’d that *Nul Home de Ley pursuont Besoignes en le Court le Roy; ne Viscount, pour le Temps qu’il est Viscount, soient retournex ne acceptex Chivaliers des Countées*: ‘ That no Man of Law, following Business in the King’s Courts, nor Sheriffs, be returned or accepted for Knights of Shires.’

‘ To this the King answers, *Voet le Roy que Chivaliers, et Serjeants des meaux Vaultes du Pays, soient retournéz desore Chivaliers en Parliaments, et qu’ils soient eleus en pleine Counté*: ‘ The King willeth that Knights and Serjeants (that is, Esquires) of the best Rank in the County be from henceforth returned to be Knights in Parliament, and that they be chosen in full County.’

‘ After this Ordinance, and pursuant to it, a Clause was inserted into the Writ for chusing Members for the House of Commons, 5 *Hen. IV.* to this Effect, *Nolumus autem quod tu, seu aliquis alius Vicecomes Regni nostri, sive aliquis alius Homo ad Legem, aliquialiter sit electus*: ‘ We will not that you, or any other Sheriff of our Kingdom,

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

‘or any other Man of Law, by any Means be chosen.’

‘According to this Ordinance and Clause of *Nolumus*, the Sheriffs have been since excluded from sitting in Parliament as Members, during the Time of their Sherifalty; the Debate of which Point was had, and full of Learning, in a former Parliament, in the Case of a very learned and worthy Person, Sir *Edward Coke*, whom most of us knew.

‘He, being made Sheriff of *Bucks* upon Displeasure against him, was chosen Knight of the Shire for *Bucks*, and sat in Parliament; and I had the Honour then to be a young Parliament-Man, in the second Year of the late King.

‘The Objections against him were *the constant Usage not to permit Sheriffs to sit as Parliament-Men; their Oath to reside in their Counties, the Custody whereof was committed to them; and that their Office was but annual, and so the Disability was but for that Time only.*

‘But for a Man to be disabled from being a Parliament-Man, in regard of his being a Lawyer, is to disable him during his Life, or his Continuance in his Profession by which he gains his Livelihood; and they are not public Officers, obliged to another Attendance on the public Affairs, as the Sheriffs are.

‘Yet it is true that in the Parliament, which was held 6 *Hen. IV.* all Lawyers were excluded, and none of them returned to serve in that Parliament; and perhaps from some general Discourse hereof by others, the worthy Gentleman is pleased, with Confidence, to vent his Doctrine and Motion: But in case he did read, and understand the Records of this Ordinance, and of the Clause of *Nolumus*, yet, I suppose he never look’d into the Ground of this Business, nor into that which followed thereupon; wherein I shall hope to satisfy him, and so as to alter his Opinion.

‘King *Henry IV.* being in great Want of Money, summon’d that Parliament, and caused to be
 inserted

inserted in the Writ this Clause of *Nolumus* to exclude the Lawyers; because he doubted that they would oppose his excessive Demands which he was to make to the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

November.

‘*Thomas Walsingham* saith ^a, That all the Lawyers being excluded, the Demands of the King were by this Means obtained; and by this Parliament was granted an unusual Tax, and to the People, *tristabilis & valde gravis*, ‘a Tax full of Trouble and very grievous;’ whereof, the Historian saith, he would have set down the Manner, had not the Granters and Authors of the same desired to be conceal’d for ever to Posterity, by causing the Papers and Records thereof to be burnt ^b.

‘Mr. Speaker, This is the Precedent intimated by the worthy Gentleman; and this was the Occasion and Issue of that Precedent, the like whereof, I presume, is not wish’d by him.

‘*Walsingham* styles that Parliament, in the Margin, *Parliamentum indoctorum*, ‘the Parliament of unlearned Men.’

‘*Speed*, in his History, saith, That this Parliament was called the *Lack-learning Parliament*, either for the Unlearnedness of the Persons, or for their Malice unto Learning.

‘But God hath bless’d this Nation with such an Age of learned Men at this present, that former Times knew not; and we must acknowledge that, though the House should lack all their Members who are Lawyers, yet the rest are of so great Abilities that there would be no Lack of Learning: Yet, Sir, I am sure that the Addition of those many learned Gentlemen of our Profession hath been, and will be, some Help in your Affairs, and will not be despised by any prudent Men.

‘The worthy Gentleman was pleased slightly to call them *Gownmen*, who had not undergone the Dangers and Hardships that Martial Men had done: And truly it might less become the Gentleman that

P 3

said

^a *Hist. Ang. Anno 1404, p. 370.*

^b *Ypodigma Neustriæ.*

Anno 1404. See also our second Volume, p. 83, et citra.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

said it, than others, to make that Observation, if it had been so.

‘The antient *Romans* were Soldiers, though Gownmen; nor doth that Gown abate either a Man’s Courage or his Wisdom, or render him less capable of using a Sword when the Laws are silent, or you command it.

‘You all know this to be true by the great Services perform’d by Lieutenant-General *Jones*, Commissary *Ireton*, and many of the Members, and other Lawyers; who, putting off their Gowns when you required it, have serv’d you stoutly and successfully as Soldiers, and undergone almost as many and as great Dangers and Hardships, as the Gentleman who so much undervalues all of them. But we are now speaking of their Right to be chosen, and to sit as Members of the Parliament; which doubtless is as much and the same with all other the Commoners of *England*.

‘The Historian last mentioned saith, That the Commons of *England*, who have Liberty in the Choice of their Knights and Burgeses, would not be debarred thereof by the Ordinance of *Edw. III.* nor by the Clause of *Nolumus* inserted in the Writ by *Hen. IV.* but have made a constant Choice of some of them to serve for them in all Parliaments.

‘The Lord *Coke*, 4. *Instit.* p. 48, holds, That the Ordinance, 46 *Edw. III.* by the general Words of 5. *Rich. II. Stat. 2. Cap. 4.* and 7. *Hen. IV. Cap. 15.* was repealed: However, we read not of any Parliament, except that unhappy one 6 *Hen. IV.* in which the Lawyers were excluded; and after not a few considerable Services, both Civil and Military, perform’d by some of them for you, it was somewhat an ungrateful Motion now to have excluded them.

‘We may lay aside the Clause of *Nolumus*, lest other Clauses of *Nolumus*, which we find in the Writs of Summons, do come as near home to others. Sometime Clauses were inserted in the Writs for Election of Commoners, to this Purpose, *Nolumus autem quod aliquis de Retinentia Domini nostri Regis*

gis aliquo modo sit electus: 'We will not that any the Retinue of our Lord the King, in anywise, be chosen.'

Inter-regnum,
1649.

November.

'Tho', Sir, I acknowledge that worthy Gentleman, and many others who have been the King's Servants and Courtiers, have been very faithful to you, and done you acceptable Services; and so some of them have done in former Parliaments, and I hope you all do think so; yet the Undervaluing of our Profession to be Members of Parliament, hath less Strength coming from such Gentlemen, than from others; because of them, some from abroad will be apt to say, though scandalously, That Courtiers and King's Servants used to sit in Parliament rather to promote their Master's Ends than their Country's Rights; but such Objections are now out of Doors.

'The like Passage with this we are now debating is related in the *Roman* Story, when the Law *Cinna* was made, whereby it was provided, *That, for pleading of Causes, no Man should take either Money or Gift*; and this Law was endeavoured, upon the like Grounds, to be set on Foot presently after the Death of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

'But when some alledged that this would cause the want of Counsellors and Advocates, whereby the Poor would be oppress'd by the Rich and Mighty; that Eloquence did not come by Chance, or *gratis*, without Study and Labour; that the Care of a Man's own Family was neglected, whilst he attended other Men's Affairs; that some maintained their Life by War, some by tilling the Earth, yet no man laboured in these Callings, or to attain Knowledge, but for the Commodity arising thereby; that the meanest of the People endeavoured what they could to better their Estates, and that if the Reward of Studies should be taken away, Studies also would decay, as having neither Glory nor Honour. Upon these Reasons the Senate thought it not just, and I hope this Senate will be of the same Judgment, to take away the

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

the *Honorarium* of Advocates; but limited the same to 1000 Sesterces, which some compute to be about 78 l. of our Money.

‘Neither, saith *Tacitus, Annal. lib. 11*, did that Law continue or gain Compliance to it. Neither do I think that such a Law amongst us would be to any Effect, or have any Compliance to it.

‘But I hope this honourable *English* Senate, and that worthy Gentleman, a Member of it, will be satisfied with the Reasons given in the *Roman* Senate, who were very wise Men; and not trouble themselves about such new Laws, which will be ineffectual, prejudicial to many, and good to none.

‘But the Gentleman objected, and it is much urg’d in these Times, against the Profession of the Law and the Professors of it, *That they are the Occasion of Multiplicity of Suits*, and of Delays in them; and therefore, after the Example of some foreign Countries, not to be permitted.

‘I have observed to you before that those in Power have most Reason to be displeased with this Profession, as a Bridle to their Power; but that the Profession occasions Multiplicity of Suits, is as improbable as any other of his Reasons or his Arguments.

‘Mr. Speaker, the Reason of the Multiplicity of Suits and Law Causes amongst us, is the Greatness of our Trade, which causeth a Multitude of Contracts, and these occasion a Multitude of Law Suits.

‘In those Countries, mentioned by that worthy Gentleman, there is not one of his Profession, one Merchant, or one Contracter, for a hundred in *England*; that is the Cause they have so few Law Suits and we so many.

‘And give me Leave, Sir, to tell him, that in the *Netherlands*, and Countries where there is much Trade, there are proportionably as many Law Suits as there are in *England*.

‘Another Ground of what I affirm, is that, in foreign Countries, every Man’s Estate is disposed of

of by their Law, after a certain Rule and Proportion, which the Possessor cannot, either by Conveyance or by his Testament, afterwards alter. As when one dies, his Estate is thus divided by the Law; his Wife hath a Part set out for her, the eldest Son hath a double Portion, and all the other Sons have equal Portions, and every two Daughters have as much as one Son, of the whole Estate of their Father thus divided by Law. Whereas, with us, every Possessor of an Estate hath Power to dispose of it by his Deed, or by his Will, as he pleases, which must necessarily occasion the more Differences and Suits at Law, upon Constructions of those Deeds and Wills, and Contests of Parties claiming, than where the known Law gives a certain Rule and Distribution of Estates, which none can alter.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

‘ Another Ground of what I say is the Freedom of our Nation, where every one hath equal Right and Title to his Estate, and there is as full Property to the meanest as to the greatest Person; which causeth our Countrymen to insist upon their Right and Privileges, and to contest for them with the greatest Men, or the Prince himself, if the Right of Law be on their Side.

‘ This occasions many more Law Suits than do arise in those Countries where the Boors and Peasants do wholly depend upon the Will of their Lords, to whom they are Slaves, and dare not dispute any Matter of Right with him, but tamely submit unto their Lord’s good or bad Pleasure.

‘ And though in some of these Northern Countries they have no Counsellors at Law, as a public Profession, because the Smallness of their Law Business will not maintain them, and the great Lords are oft-times there Parties and Judges themselves; yet in *Germany, France, Spain*, and other Countries, the Doctors and Professors of the Law are in great Numbers and Credit, and gain vast Estates, tho’ by small Fees, yet often taken, and long continuing; whereof, particularly in *France*, there are many

Inter-regnum.

1649.

November.

ny Precedents. And if we look so far as the Times of the antient *Romans* and *Grecians*, their Lawyers will be found numerous, and of Esteem among them; and when their Commonwealth enjoyed the greatest Freedom, this Profession was in the highest Reputation.

‘Sir, the worthy Gentleman was pleased to mention one Thing with some Weight, *That Lawyers were permitted to counsel and plead for Men in Matters touching their Estates and Liberties; but in the greatest Matters of all others, concerning a Man’s Life and Posterity, Lawyers were not permitted to plead for their Clients.*

‘I confess I cannot answer this Objection, That, for a Trespass of a Sixpence Value, a Man may have a Counsellor to plead for him; but where his Life and Posterity are concern’d, he is not admitted this Privilege and Help of Lawyers. A Law to reform this, I think, would be just, and give Right to the People.

‘What is said in Defence or Excuse of this Custom is, *That the Judges are of Counsel for the Prisoners, and are to see that they have no Wrong.* And are they not to take the same Care of all Causes that shall be tried before them?

‘To that Part of the Gentleman’s Motion, *That Lawyers, being Members of the House, should, during that Time, forbear their Practice and Pleading,* I shall only give this Answer, That, in the Act which he may be pleased to bring in for this Purpose, it may likewise be inserted, that Merchants shall forbear their Trading, Physicians from visiting their Patients, and Country-Gentlemen forbear to sell their Corn and Wool whilst they sit as Members of this House; which hath the same Reason as to debar Lawyers from their Practice.

‘But I doubt, Sir, I have held you too long. My Profession, and the Subject Matter of the Debate, will plead in my Excuse; and I hope, Sir, by your Prudence, such Motions as these will be less frequent among us.’

We

We presume the foregoing Arguments put a Stop to this Attack upon the Gentlemen of the Long Robe; for we hear no more of it.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

December.

December. Business, material enough for these Enquiries, now grew very slack in the House; they did not sit above four Days in a Week, constantly adjourning themselves from *Friday* till *Tuesday* following; and when they did meet their Numbers were so few, as frequently to divide, in all under forty. We may suppose then that the most important Affairs of the Nation were transacted by the Council of State; which is out of our Sphere, the Compass of our Design obliging us only to follow this Fag-end of a Parliament through all its various Revolutions, and the Transactions relative to them.

Cromwell went on pursuing his Victories in *Ireland* with great Rapidity; and, in a short Time after this, made himself Master of the whole Kingdom. The dreadful Execution at *Drogheda* opened all before him, few Places daring to resist, for fear of being serv'd in like Manner; so that that poor Nation was now harra's'd and torn up to the very Roots. On the 12th of this Month the following Letter from him was read in the House:

For the Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq;
Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Mr. Speaker,

‘ THE Enemy being quartered between the General Crom-
‘ two Rivers of *Noer* and the *Barrow*, and *well's* Letter to
‘ Masters of all the Passages thereupon, and giving on his taking of
‘ out their Resolution to fight us; thereby, as we *Enistery, Carrick,*
‘ conceived, labouring to get Reputation in the *King'sale, &c.*
‘ Countries, and Accession of more Strength; it
‘ was thought fit our Army should march towards
‘ them, which accordingly, upon *Tuesday* the 15th
‘ Instant, was done.
‘ The Major-General and Lieutenant-General
‘ (leaving me very sick at *Ros*, behind them) with
‘ two

Inter-regnum.

1649.

December.

‘ two Battering Guns, advanced towards *Enistery*,
 ‘ a little walled Town, about five Miles from *Ross*,
 ‘ upon the *Noer*, on the South-Side thereof, which
 ‘ was possessed by the Enemy; but a Party of our
 ‘ Men, under the Command of Col. *Abbot*, the
 ‘ Night before approaching the Gates, and at-
 ‘ tempting to fire the same, the Enemy ran away
 ‘ through the River, leaving good Store of Provi-
 ‘ sions behind them. Our Commanders hoped, by
 ‘ gaining of this Town, to have gained a Pass,
 ‘ but indeed there fell so much sudden Wet, as
 ‘ made the River unpassable by that Time the Ar-
 ‘ my was come up; whereupon, hearing the En-
 ‘ my lay about two Miles off, near *Thomas*
 ‘ Town, a pretty large walled Town, upon the
 ‘ *Noer*, the North Side thereof having a Bridge
 ‘ over the River, our Army marched thither; but
 ‘ the Enemy had broken the Bridge, and garrison’d
 ‘ the Town, and in the View of our Army march’d
 ‘ away to *Kilkenny*; seeming to decline an Engage-
 ‘ ment, although, I believe, they were double our
 ‘ Numbers, which they had Power to have neces-
 ‘ sitated us unto, but was no ways in our Power
 ‘ (if they would stand upon the Advantage of the
 ‘ Passage) to engage them unto; nor indeed to con-
 ‘ tinue out two Days longer, having almost spent
 ‘ all the Bread they carried with them.

‘ Hereupon, seeking God for Direction, they
 ‘ resolved to send a good Party of Horse and Dra-
 ‘ goons, under Col. *Reynolds*, to *Carrick*, and to
 ‘ march the Residue of their Army back towards
 ‘ *Ross*, to gain more Bread for the Prosecution of
 ‘ that Design, if, by the Blessing of God, it should
 ‘ take. Col. *Reynolds*, marching with twelve
 ‘ Troops of Horse and three Troops of Dragoons,
 ‘ came betimes in the Morning to *Carrick*, where
 ‘ dividing himself into two Parties, whilst they
 ‘ were amused with the one, he entered one of the
 ‘ Gates with the other; which the Soldiers per-
 ‘ ceiving, divers of them and their Officers escaped
 ‘ over the River in Boats; about 100 Officers and
 ‘ Sol-

‘ Soldiers taken Prisoners, without the Loss of one
 ‘ Man on our Part. In this Place is a very good
 ‘ Castle, and one of the antientest Seats, belong-
 ‘ ing to the Lord *Ormond*, in *Ireland*; the same
 ‘ was rendered without any Loss also, where was
 ‘ good Store of Provisions for the refreshing of our
 ‘ Men. The Colonel giving a speedy Intelligence
 ‘ of God’s Mercy in this, we agreed to march,
 ‘ with all convenient Speed, the Residue of the
 ‘ Army up thither, which accordingly was done
 ‘ upon *Wednesday* and *Thursday*, the 21st and 22d.
 ‘ of this Instant, and, thro’ God’s Mercy, I was
 ‘ enabled to bear them Company. Being come
 ‘ thither, we did look at it as an especial good
 ‘ Hand of Providence to give us this Place, inas-
 ‘ much as it gives us a Passage over the River *Sewer*
 ‘ to the City of *Waterford*, and indeed into *Mun-*
 ‘ *ster*, to our Shipping and Provisions, which
 ‘ before were beaten from us out of *Waterford*
 ‘ Bay, by the Enemy’s Guns. It hath given us
 ‘ also the Opportunity to besiege or block up *Wa-*
 ‘ *terford*; and we hope our gracious God will
 ‘ therein direct us also. It hath given us also the
 ‘ Opportunity of our Guns, Ammunition, and Vic-
 ‘ tuals, and indeed Quarter for our Horse, which
 ‘ could not have subsisted much longer: So sweet
 ‘ a Mercy was the giving of this little Place unto
 ‘ us.

Inter-regnum.

1649.

December.

‘ Having rested there a Night, and by Noon the
 ‘ next Day gotten our Army over the River, lea-
 ‘ ving Col. *Reynolds* with about 150 Foot, his own
 ‘ six Troops of Horse, and one Troop of Dragoons,
 ‘ with a very little Ammunition, according to the
 ‘ Smallness of our Marching-Store, we marched
 ‘ away towards *Waterford* upon *Friday* the 23d,
 ‘ and on *Saturday* about Noon came before the
 ‘ City. The Enemy not being a little troubled at
 ‘ this unsuspected Business, (which indeed was the
 ‘ meer Guidance of God) marches down with
 ‘ great Fury towards *Carrick*, with their whole
 ‘ Army, resolving to swallow it up; and, upon
 ‘ *Saturday* the 24th, assaults the Place round,
 ‘ thinking

Inter-regnum.

1649.

December.

' thinking to take it by Storm; but God had other-
 ' wise determined, for the Troopers and the rest
 ' of the Soldiers, with Stones, did so pelt them,
 ' they continuing very near four Hours under the
 ' Walls, having burnt the Gates, which our Men
 ' barricaded up with Stones; and likewise dig-
 ' ged under the Walls and sprung a small Mine,
 ' which flew in their own Faces; but they left
 ' above 40 or 50 Men dead under the Walls, and
 ' have drawn off, as some say, near 400 more,
 ' which they buried up and down the Fields, be-
 ' sides what are wounded; and, as *Inchiquin* him-
 ' self confessed in the Hearing of some of their Sol-
 ' diers lately come to us, hath lost him above 1000
 ' Men. The Enemy were drawing off their Dead
 ' a good Part of the Night. They were in such
 ' Haste upon the Assault, that they kill'd their own
 ' Trumpet as he was returning with an Answer to
 ' a Summons sent by them. Both in the taking
 ' and defending of this Place, Col. *Reynolds's*
 ' Carriage was such as deserves much Honour.

' Upon our coming before *Waterford*, I sent
 ' the Lieutenant-General with a Regiment of
 ' Horse and three Troops of Dragoons, to endea-
 ' vour the reducing of *Passage-Fort*, a very large
 ' Fort, with a Castle in the Midst of it, having five
 ' Guns planted in it; and commanding the River
 ' better than *Duncannon*, it not being much above
 ' Musket-shot over where this Fort stands, and we
 ' can bring up hither Ships of 300 Tons, without
 ' any Danger from *Duncannon*. Upon the At-
 ' tempt, though our Materials were not very apt
 ' for the Business, yet the Enemy call'd for Quar-
 ' ter, and had it, and we the Place: We also pos-
 ' sessed the Guns which the Enemy had planted to
 ' beat our Ships out of the Bay two Miles below.
 ' By the taking of this Fort we shall much
 ' straiten *Duncannon* from Provisions by Water,
 ' as we hope they are not in a Condition to get
 ' much by Land; besides the Advantage it is of to
 ' us, to have Provisions come up the River.

' It

Inter-regnum
1649.

December.

‘ It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these Things
‘ have been thus transacting here, to add to your
‘ Interest, in *Munster*, *Bandon-Bridge*; the Town,
‘ as we hear, upon the Matter, thrusting out young
‘ *Jepson*, who was their Governor, or else he de-
‘ serted it upon that Jealousy: As also *Kingsale* and
‘ the Fort there, out of which Fort 400 Men
‘ marched upon Articles when it was surrendered;
‘ so that now, by the good Hand of the Lord, your
‘ Interest in *Munster* is near as good already as
‘ ever it was since the War begun. I sent a Party
‘ about two Days ago to my Lord *Broughill*, from
‘ whom I expect to have an Account of all.

‘ Sir, what can be said to these Things? Is it an
‘ Arm of Flesh that doth these Things? Is it the
‘ Wisdom and Council, or Strength of Men? It is
‘ the Lord only; God will curse that Man and his
‘ House that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you
‘ see the Work is done by Divine Leading; God
‘ gets into the Hearts of Men, and persuades them
‘ to come under you.

‘ I tell you a considerable Party of your Army is
‘ fitter for an Hospital than the Field: If the Ene-
‘ my did not know it I should have held it impo-
‘ litic to have writ it: They know it, yet they
‘ know not what to do.

‘ I humbly beg Leave to offer a Word or two.
‘ I beg of those that are faithful, that they give
‘ Glory to God; I wish it may have Influence up-
‘ on the Hearts and Spirits of all those that are now
‘ in Place of Government in the greatest Trust,
‘ that they may all in Heart draw near unto God;
‘ giving him Glory by Holiness of Life and Con-
‘ versation, that these unspeakable Mercies may
‘ teach dissenting Brethren on all Sides to agree, at
‘ least in praising God: And if the Father of the
‘ Family be so kind, why should there be such Jar-
‘ rings and Heart-burnings amongst the Children?
‘ And if it will not yet be received that these are
‘ Seals of God’s Approbation of your great Change
‘ of Government, (which indeed was no more yours
‘ than these Victories and Successes are ours) with
‘ us

240 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

December.

' us say even the most unsatisfied Heart, That both
' are the righteous Judgments and mighty Works
' of God, that he hath pulled down the Mighty
' from his Seat, that calls to Account innocent
' Blood; that he thus breaks the Enemies of his
' Church in Pieces; and let them not be sullen,
' but praise the Lord, and think of us as they
' please, and we shall be satisfied and pray for
' them, and wait upon our God; and we hope we
' shall seek the Welfare and Peace of our native
' Country; and the Lord give them Hearts to do
' so too. Indeed I was constrained in my Bowels
' to write thus much: I ask your Pardon, and rest

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For which a
Thanksgiving
Day is appoint-
ed.

These repeated Successes produced an Order for public Thanks to be given to Almighty God, on the next Lord's Day, in the several Churches in and about the City of *London*; where the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland's* Letter was to be publicly read to the Congregations.

Notice has been already taken of the heavy Tax continued upon the Public in the last Month: In this the House was as busy in framing an Act for laying an Impost or Excise on all foreign Commodities imported into this Nation; and on the 14th the Bill was reported to the House, when some Regulations were made, and a Resolution of Parliament pass'd, 'That the House do, in the first Place, consider who shall pay the Excise on Commodities imported:' And the Question being put, That these Commodities should be accounted for and paid by the first Importer of them, the House divided, when it was carried in the Negative by 35 against 15; and ordered to proceed in the Debate on the particular Rates imported, another Day; and, in the mean Time, to refer it to the Committee of Excise, to consider of the best Way of collecting this Impost on Goods imported.

Dec.

Dec. 14. An Act was read a third Time and passed, *For disabling divers Persons from being elected Lord Mayor, Alderman, or other Officer of Trust, within the City of London, for one Year.* Hereby it was enacted, 'That no Person who had been imprisoned, or had his Estate sequestered, for Delinquency; assisted the late King against the Parliament; subscribed to the treasonable Engagement in 1647; had been concern'd in bringing in the Scots Army under the Duke of Hamilton, or abetting the Tumults in London, Kent, Essex, &c. in 1648, should be elected Lord Mayor, Alderman, Common-Council-Man, or any other Officer of Trust, nor be capable of voting at any such Election; nor any one who promoted the Personal Treaty with the late King at London, in 1648; or that should refuse to subscribe the Engagement to be true to the Commonwealth of England, as established without a King or House of Lords, upon Penalty of 200 l.'

Inter-regnum.
1649.
December.

Acts passed for
disabling divers
Persons from
serving any Office
in London

Dec. 18. Another Act was passed, *For disabling all Persons within the last mentioned Restrictions, from being elected Constables, Questmen, or other subordinate Officers in the City of London, or the Liberties thereof.*

Several Days more were employed in debating the Business of Excise, and many Divisions of the House thereupon, till Dec. 21, when it was finally brought to a Conclusion, and passed. The several Rates, imposed on Goods by this Act, are particularly specified in the *Journals* of this Month, to which those may recur who would compare them with the Duties laid on the same Commodities in our own Days.

Another for laying an Excise on certain Commodities.

Mention has been made, in this Volume, of the famous Col. *Lilbourne*, and his Commitment to the Tower by the Council of State. Having been tried by a special Commission at the *Guild-Hall*, but acquitted by his Jury; and, soon after, elected a

Inter-regnum.
1649.

January.

Col. Lilbourne's
Election as a
Common Coun-
cil-Man of Lon-
don, declared
void by Parlia-
ment.

Common-Council-Man of the City of London; on the 26th of this Month a Petition was presented to the House, from several Aldermen and the Sheriffs of the same, against him, on which they resolved, That Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilbourne* was, by the late Act of Parliament, *For disabling the Election of divers Persons to any Office or Place of Trust within the City of London*, disabled to be chosen a Common-Council-Man; and his Election (being on the 21st Inst. the Act taking Place on the 14th) was void. So great Apprehensions had the House of the Influence of *Lilbourne's* Popularity.

Acts for banish-
ing of Papists,
Cavaliers, &c.
and for Relief of
Insolvent Debt-
ors.

The last Things which end this Month, and this Calendar Year, worth Notice in the *Journals*, are, an Act for banishing from the City of London, and twenty Miles round it, all Papists, Officers or Soldiers of Fortune, and other Delinquents; but at the same Time, to shew a little Commiseration for some of their Fellow Creatures, another Act was passed for the farther Relief of Insolvent Debtors, being a Kind of Supplement to that pass'd in *September* foregoing.

Estimate of the
Charge of the
Fleet for the
Summer's Ser-
vice for 1650.

January. This Month begins with an Estimate of the Charge of fitting and setting out a Fleet of 44 Men of War and 28 Merchant Ships, mann'd with 8082 Men, to serve for eight Months on the narrow Seas, as a Summer's Guard for the Year 1650. The House approved of this Estimate, amounting to 886,220 *l.* and ordered the Commissions of their three Admirals to be renewed for one whole Year. The Names of all the Ships intended for this Summer's Guard are enter'd on the *Journals*; three of which being there stiled the *Prince*, the *Charles*, and the *Mary*, the House ordered that it be referred to the Council of State to give other fit Names to those Ships: So intent were they upon establishing their new Republic, and extinguishing all Remains of Monarchy, that they would not bear the Mention even of the Names of the late King, or any of his Family.

Jan.

Jan. 2. All that is entered in the *Journals* to be done this Day, was reading a third Time and passing an Act for subscribing the late Engagement. The Preamble to which runs thus, 'Whereas divers disaffected Persons do, by sundry Ways and Means, oppose and endeavour to undermine the Peace of the Nation under this present Government; so that unless special Care be taken, a new War is likely to break forth: For the preventing thereof, and also for the better uniting of this Nation, as well against all Invasions from abroad, as the common Enemy at home; and to the end that those who receive Benefit and Protection from this present Government, may give Assurance of their living quietly and peaceably under the same, and that they will neither directly nor indirectly contrive or practice any Thing to the Disturbance thereof.'

Inter-règnum.

1649.

January.

An Act requiring all Persons, being 18 Years of Age, to subscribe an Engagement to be true to a Commonwealth Government.

Then it proceeds to enact, 'That all Men whatsoever, of the Age of eighteen Years or upwards, shall take and subscribe the following Engagement: *I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or a House of Lords.*'

And, in order the more effectually to enforce the Taking of this Engagement by the whole Nation, it was further enacted, '1. That if any Person enjoying any Office, Place, or Employment, did not subscribe the same before the 20th of *February* ensuing, he should not only be deprived of such Office, &c. but also forfeit double the Value of the Profits thereof by him received.

2. 'That in case any Person, being Plaintiff or Demandant in any Suit before the Courts at *Westminster*, or before any other Court, in any County, City, or Town Corporate, should not have taken the said Engagement, the Defendant might move in Arrest of Judgment, or for a *Superfedeas* to stop

Q 2.

all

c The Time for subscribing this Engagement was, afterwards, extended to the 10th of *April* following: But it was entirely repealed by *Cromwell* and his Council, the 19th of *January*, 1653.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

January.

all further Proceedings, untill the Plaintiff or Demandant subscribe the same.

‘ All Subscriptions were to be taken before the Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Justices of the Peace for the County, City, or Town where the Parties dwelt; their Names and Places of Abode to be enter’d in a Book for that Purpose by the Justices of Peace, to be by them certified to the respective Sheriffs, and delivered to the Clerk of the Parliament, whenever so required by the House or the Council of State.’

The House resolve that Gen. Cromwell be desired to come home.

Jan. 8. The Parliament having received Letters from General *Cromwell*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Major-General *Ireton*, and the Lord *Broughill*, dated at *Cork* the 18th and 19th *ult.* it was resolv’d that the said Lord-Lieutenant be desired to come over, and give his Attendance in Parliament: And that the Council of State do prepare a Letter to be sent to him for that Purpose, to be sign’d by the Speaker; and at the same Time to render him the Thanks of the House for his great Service and Faithfulness to the Commonwealth.

The same Day a Bill, which had been some Time depending, for settling certain Lands upon *Cromwell* and his Heirs, was reported to the House, and ordered a second Reading.

Jan. 9. All this Time we hear no further of the intended Adjournment of this Parliament, than what has been before mentioned; but now the House was upon a higher Point, which seemed to tend to their own Dissolution, with a strong Reference to the Manner of electing future Parliaments.

Report from the Committee appointed to consider of the Manner of electing future Parliaments.

There had been a Committee appointed, the 15th of *May* last past, to consider of this Affair; and this Day Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. made the Report from them, by which it appears to have been the Opinion of that Committee, first that the several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and Places within the Commonwealth of *England*, should have the respective Numbers hereafter expressed, to be by them,

Of ENGLAND. 245

them, from time to time, elected to sit and serve in Parliament; to consist, in the whole, of 400, viz.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

January.

<i>Bedfordshire, and</i>	}	6	<i>Northumberland, &c.</i>	8
<i>all the Places</i>			<i>Nottinghamshire, &c.</i>	6
<i>within the same,</i>			<i>Oxfordshire, &c.</i>	6
<i>Buckinghamshire, &c.</i>	9		<i>Rutlandshire, &c.</i>	2
<i>Berkshire, &c. —</i>	6		<i>Staffordshire, &c.</i>	6
<i>Cornwall, &c. —</i>	10		<i>Salop, &c.</i>	8
<i>Cumberland, &c. —</i>	4		<i>Surrey, &c.</i>	7
<i>Cambridgeshire, &c.</i>	8		<i>Southamptonshire, &c.</i>	13
<i>Cheshire, &c. —</i>	5		<i>Suffolk, &c.</i>	16
<i>Derbyshire, &c. —</i>	5		<i>Somersetshire, &c.</i>	14
<i>Devonshire, &c. —</i>	20		<i>Sussex, &c.</i>	14
<i>Dorsetshire, &c. —</i>	8		<i>Westmoreland, &c.</i>	3
<i>Durham, &c. —</i>	4		<i>Wiltshire, &c.</i>	13
<i>Essex, &c. —</i>	14		<i>Warwickshire, &c.</i>	7
<i>Glocestershire, &c. —</i>	8		<i>Worcestershire, &c.</i>	7
<i>Hertfordshire, &c. —</i>	6		<i>Yorkshire, &c.</i>	24
<i>Herefordshire, &c. —</i>	6		<i>Anglesey, &c.</i>	1
<i>Huntingdonshire, &c.</i>	4		<i>Brecknockshire, &c.</i>	2
<i>Kent, &c. —</i>	18		<i>Cardiganshire, &c.</i>	2
<i>Leicestershire, &c. —</i>	6		<i>Carnarvonshire, &c.</i>	1
<i>Lincolnshire, &c. —</i>	15		<i>Denbighshire, &c.</i>	2
<i>Lancashire, &c. —</i>	12		<i>Flintshire, &c.</i>	1
<i>Middlesex, (except</i>	}	6	<i>Glamorganshire, &c.</i>	3
<i>London)</i>			<i>Merionethshire, &c.</i>	1
<i>London, and Liber-</i>	}	7	<i>Monmouthshire, &c.</i>	3
<i>ties thereof, —</i>			<i>Montgomeryshire, &c.</i>	2
<i>Norfolk, &c. —</i>	14		<i>Pembrokeshire, &c.</i>	3
<i>Northamptonshire, &c.</i>	8		<i>Radnorshire, &c.</i>	2

The Committee were also to know the Pleasure of the House, whether there should be a particular Distribution of the foregoing Proportions, upon several Places in each respective County.

The other Heads of this Report related to the Rights and Privileges of electing and sending of Members to Parliament; the Time of the Continuance of each Parliament; the Manner of electing the same; with the Qualifications of the Electors and Elected.

This

c The Total hereof amounts only to 386: But the Numbers stand so in the Journals.

246 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1649.

January.

This Report having been read, by Parts, all that the House resolved upon was, That the Number of Persons to be elected to serve in Parliament for this Nation, shall not exceed 400. The Debate on this great Affair took up many Days this Month in a Grand Committee; but they adjourn'd from Time to Time without coming to any farther Resolutions upon it.

Jan. 10. The House ordered their Attorney-General to prepare a Patent to be passed under the Great Seal of *England*, appointing Major-General *Ireton* to be President of the Province of *Munster*, he observing such Instructions as should be given him by the Parliament, Council of State, or the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the Time being. As *Cromwell's* Commission to the last-mentioned Post was granted for three Years, this Advancement of his Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, must have been a prodigious Addition to his Influence and Authority in that Kingdom.

Jan. 29. The Parliament resolved* that every *Friday* in the Week they would take into Consideration the best Ways and Means to advance the Gospel of Jesus Christ and Piety; and ordered that the Speaker do put them in Mind thereof. In consequence of this Order Bills were afterwards brought in for providing a Maintenance for Preachers in different Parts of the Nation, for enforcing the Observation of the Lord's Day, for the more severe Punishment of profane Cursing and Swearing, and for suppressing the detestable Sins of Incest, Adultery, and Fornication. Of these Acts of Reformation Notice will be taken in their proper Order of Time.

The House resolve upon a Style of Address to them from foreign Powers.

Jan. 30. Upon the Lord *Grey's* Report from the Council of State, That they had agreed that the Style to be used in all Transactions with foreign Powers should run thus, *Reipublicæ Anglicanæ Ordines*, unless the Parliament thought fit to appoint

appoint any other: After Debate it was resolved, 'That, in all Negotiations and Transactions with foreign States, the Style or Title to be used should be *Parliamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ*: That the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal be requir'd to pass, under the Great Seal of *England*, several Commissions in common Form, *mutatis mutandis*, to the two Agents appointed by the Council of State, to be employed to *Spain* and *Portugal*: And that the Style and Title of every Address to the Parliament from foreign Princes and States, shall be *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*, and no other Style or Title whatsoever.'

Inter-regnum.
1649.

February.

Jan. 31. The House received Letters from the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, at *Cork*, dated the 2d and 10th Instant, advising that several Garrisons in *Munster* had surrendered to the Parliament's Forces without Blood, or striking a Stroke; and that the Army was in so good Health that Regiments which lately marched only 400 Men, now marched 8 or 900; and that the Horse were disposed of into Garrisons. These Letters were referred to the Council of State.

February 2. Mr. *Anthony Ascham* having been appointed by the Parliament to go as their Agent into *Spain*, Mr. *Charles Vane* to *Portugal*, and Mr. *Richard Bradshaw* to *Hamburgh*, the House ordered the Commissioners of the Great Seal to issue out Commissions accordingly. And this Day the Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* reported a Draught thereof from the Council of State, which, after some Amendments, was agreed to by the House as follows:

Parliamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ, Omnibus & Singulis, ad quos præsentēs hæc nostræ Literæ pervenerint, Salutem. Cum Annum jam post recuperatam Libertatem, & restitutam, favente Deo, Angliæ Rempublicam, a Parlamento decretum, nec-

The Form of a
Commission to
their Agents a-
broad.

non

Inter-regnum.
1649.

February,

non Edicto edito promulgatum sit, velle atque admodum cupere Populum Anglicanum, & quod ad se attinet, Operam daturum, ut quæ sibi Amicitia cum exteris quibuscunque Nationibus vel antiquitus vel recens intercedit, sarta tecta conservetur, vel etiam re integrato, si opus esset, Fædere renovetur: Nos idcirco, ne Inceptum tam bonum, tamque pacificum, Finem speratum non assequeretur, omnes Status, Principes, Civitates, ac Populos, & præsertim Serenissimum Hispaniarum Regem, hac de re certiore faciendum esse decrevimus. Sciatis igitur, quod Nos, Diligentia, Solertia, Fidei, ac Probitati lectissimi Viri Antonii Ascamii plurimum tribuentes, ipsum prænominatum Antonium nostrum verum & indubitatum Commissarium, Procuratorem, Agentem, & Deputatum, ad prædictum Negotium fecimus, constituimus, ordinavimus, & deputavimus, ac per Præsentes facimus, constituimus, ordinamus, & deputamus; dantes eidem & committentes plenam Potestatem & Auctoritatem, Nomine nostro, cum prædicto Serenissimo Hispaniarum Rege, ejusque Procuratoribus, Deputatis, ac Nuntiis, ad hoc sufficientem Auctoritatem & Potestatem habentibus, communicandi, tractandi, & transigendi ea omnia, quæ ad Amicitiam, & liberum ac antiquum commercium inter Anglos & Hispanos, & quoscunque sub eorum Ditione positos, promovendum & stabiliendum conducunt & faciunt, secundum ea Mandata, quæ vel a Parlamento, vel a Concilio Status Parliamenti Auctoritate constituto, jam accepit, aut per Literas accepturus est; promittentes, bona Fide, nos, quæ inter prædictum Hispaniarum Regem, ejusque Procuratores, Deputatos, & Nuntios, atque prænominatum Antonium Ascamum, nostrum Commissarium, Agentem, & Deputatum, transacta & conclusa fuerint, modo illo quo supradictum est, ea omnia rata ac firma habituros, & ex nostra Parte observaturos.

In cujus Rei Testimonium, hisce Literis, quibus Manus Prolocutoris nostri subscribitur, Magnum Reipublicæ Sigillum apponi fecimus. Datum in Palatio Westmonasteriensi.

Feb.

Feb. 4. The House were inform'd of the Death of *Philip Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and Knight of the Garter.—We shall not meddle with the Character of this Noble Peer, who condescended to take a Seat amongst the Commons, as one of the Representatives of the County of *Berks*, it being amply drawn by Lord *Clarendon* and others. But no doubt the House where he last sat had a great Regard for him; since it was this Day ordered, That all the Members should attend his Corpse out of the Town the *Wednesday* following.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

February.

Complaint having been made of several Books being lately published, containing many horrid Blasphemies and damnable and detestable Opinions, and particularly one call'd *A Fiery flying Roll*, compos'd by one *Coppe*; all the Copies thereof were ordered to be seized upon by the Serjeant at Arms, and burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. The House also resolv'd to appoint the last of this Month to be observ'd as a Day of solemn Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer; the Grounds and Reasons whereof were order'd to be published in the following Terms, which as it tends to shew the particular Turn of these Times, we shall give from the original Edition in our own Collections. ^b

‘ THE Lord who ruleth over Nations, who
‘ disposeth and ordereth all Things, accord-
‘ ing to the good Pleasure of his own Will, hath
‘ in our Age (as well as in former Generations)
‘ exceedingly glorified his Wisdom, Power, and
‘ Mercy, that he might warn and awaken the In-
‘ habitants of the Earth unto a diligent Inquiry after
‘ him, a faithful and fruitful living before him; his
‘ Voice

A Fast-Day ap-
pointed on ac-
count of the pub-
lishing certain
blasphemous
Books, &c.

^b Printed by *Edward Husbands* and *John Field*, Printers to the Parliament of England, 1649.

Hitherto the several Acts and Proceedings of this Parliament have run thus, printed by *John Field* for *Edward Husbands*: But on the 25th of *January* the House voted that *Mr. Field*, upon the Nomination of the Speaker, be Joint-Printer with *Mr. Husbands*, for the future, and have an equal Share of the Profits.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

February.

' Voice and his Hand hath been heard and seen
 ' in this Land most eminently, in rescuing us out
 ' of the destroying Hands of Tyranny, Popery, and
 ' Superstition: Which Experience of the Lord's
 ' wonderful Goodness and Mercy towards this Na-
 ' tion, might have wrought an answerable Return
 ' of Duty and Obedience; and the Sense of the
 ' Want hereof ought to fill us with Shame, Asto-
 ' nishment, and Confusion of Face, especially
 ' when (instead thereof) we find in the Midst of it
 ' such crying Sins, hideous Blasphemies, and un-
 ' heard-of Abominations, (and that by some under
 ' Pretence of Liberty, and greater Measure of
 ' Light) as, after all our wonderful Deliverances,
 ' do manifest themselves to the exceeding Disho-
 ' nour of God, and Reproach of our Christian
 ' Profession: To the End therefore that this Na-
 ' tion in general, and every one in particular, may
 ' have an Opportunity to know and acknowledge
 ' their Sins in the Sight of God, and be truly
 ' humbled for them; and that earnest Prayer and
 ' Supplication may be put up on behalf of this
 ' Commonwealth, for the Advancement of the
 ' Kingdom of Christ, and Propagation of his Gospel
 ' throughout the same, and all the Dominions
 ' thereof; that the good Hand of God may be con-
 ' tinued with us in perfecting his great Works,
 ' which have been carried on to so good a Degree
 ' in *England* and *Ireland*; that all Differences
 ' among Brethren might be reconciled in Love;
 ' that the Designs, Combinations, and Conspira-
 ' cies of all wicked Men (whether within or with-
 ' out us) to embroil this Nation in a new War,
 ' may be discovered and prevented; and that whilst
 ' ungodly Men do make the Arm of Flesh their
 ' Confidence, we may testify (from an abundant
 ' Experience of the Lord's Goodness) that our
 ' Strength is only in the living God: Be it there-
 ' fore enacted and declared, That *Thursday* the
 ' last Day of *February*, 1649, be appointed and
 ' kept as a solemn Day of Fasting, Prayer, and
 ' Humiliation, for the Ends aforesaid.'

Feb.

Feb. 12. The Time appointed for the Continuance of the present Council of State being up the Middle of this Month, the House proceeded to the Election of a new one for the next Year; and first agreed That the Number of Persons to act in this High Station should not exceed forty-one. They next read over a List of the Names of the present Council, and proceeded to vote every single Person into the Office or reject them, by putting the Question upon each; when they were all re-elected except the Earl of *Mulgrave*, Lord *Grey of Warke*, and Sir *John D'Anvers*. The two first were rejected without a Division, the last by a Majority of 40 Voices against 34: And there being only 37 Persons agreed upon, the House resolved, That it be referred to a Committee to consider of the best Way of electing four Persons more to be of the Council of State for the Year ensuing, in the room of the three who had been rejected, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, deceased.^a

Inter-regnum.
1649.

February.

A Council of
State elected for
the Year 1650.

The next Day, *Feb. 13*, the Powers given to the Council of State by their former Instructions, passed the 13th of *February*, 1648, were read and agreed to, with this Addition, 'You have also hereby Power to appoint Committees, or any other Person or Persons, for Examinations, receiving of Informations, and preparing of Business for your Debates and Resolutions.' The other Articles, being already given under their proper Date, are unnecessary to be repeated here.

The filling up the four Vacancies in the Council of State gave Occasion to much Debate and many Divisions of the House. At length, on the 20th of this Month, it was resolved to elect five Persons to be of this Council^a; when Mr. *Thomas Chaloner*, Mr. *John Gourdon*, Col. *Herbert Morley*

^a The Manner of this Election is very minutely described in the *Journals*; but there seems to be a Mistake as to five Persons being reported to have the greatest Number of Subscriptions, and then giving the Names of seven; nor do these Authorities assign any Reason for electing five instead of four.

Inter-regnum.
1649.

March.

ley, Sir Peter Wentworth, and Lord Howard, were chosen. Sir Henry Vane, *sen.* was rejected by a Majority of 54 against 44, and the new Earl of Pembroke without a Division ^b.

Feb. 25. Notice has been already taken, that the Parliament had desired Lieutenant-General Cromwell to come over into *England*; and this Day it was ordered, That his Excellency have the Use of the Lodgings call'd the *Cockpit*, the *Spring-Garden*, *St. James's House*, and the Command of *St. James's Park*.

Although the Parliament had set apart every *Wednesday* in the Week to go on with their Proceedings in the Act for an equal Representative and the Regulation of Elections, nothing more was concluded on than what we have already mentioned.

March. The Proceedings of the House in this Month ran chiefly on private Affairs, few Matters of Moment coming before them.

A Book, asserting the Observation of the *Jewish Sabbath*, order'd to be burnt.

On the 8th Complaint being made of a Book lately published, intitled, *The Doctrine of the Fourth Commandment as deform'd by Popery, reform'd and restor'd to its primitive Purity*, &c. which ascertained the Observation of the *Jewish Sabbath*: It was resolved that the said Book is erroneous, scandalous, and profane; contrary to the Practice of the Apostles, and of all Christian Churches; that all the printed Copies thereof be burnt; that the Author be apprehended; and the Printer and Publisher punished according to Law.

An Act for erecting a new College, &c. at Dublin,

The same Day an Act *For the better Advancement of the Gospel and of Learning in Ireland*, was read a third Time, pass'd, and ordered to be printed. Hereby it was enacted, 'That all Manors and

^b He was elected for *Glamorganshire* at the Beginning of this Parliament, and continued to sit among the Commons after his Father's Decease; whereupon the House appointed him to succeed to the Offices of *Custos Rotulorum* for the Counties of *Derby* and *Wils.*

Inter-regnum.
1649.
March.

and Lands, lately belonging to the Archbishoprick of *Dublin*, the Dean and Chapter of *St. Patrick's*, and the Bishoprick of *Meath*, should be settled in Trustees, for the Use of *Trinity College, Dublin*; also for erecting another College and a Free School in that City; and for Maintenance of a Master, Fellows, public Professors, Scholars, &c. in such Manner as by the said Trustees should be thought proper, if approv'd of by the Lord-Lietenant of *Ireland*, who was authorized to place or remove all the respective Officers thereof; to allow them such Stipends out of the Premises as he should think fit; and to make Rules and Orders for the Government thereof, subject to such Alterations as the Parliament of *England* should think proper.

The House having received Advice that their late Act for laying an Excise upon Beer and Ale, by being extended to private Families, had given Occasion to great Discontents; the Speaker was ordered to write Letters to the Judges who were to go the Circuits at the *Lent* Assizes, to take Care for suppressing all Tumults arising thereby, and a new Method was agreed on for collecting the Duty.

On the 11th of this Month an Act was pass'd, For selling the Fee-Farm Rents belonging to the Crown, in order to the better carrying on the War in *Ireland*, and other emergent Affairs of the Commonwealth; for which Purpose these Estates were vested in Trustees, who were impowered to sell the same at eight Years Purchase, but not under; nor was any Trustee to be admitted as a Purchaser of any Part of the Premises.

A Bill had been ordered to be brought in, For And establishing a Court-Martial within the Cities of a High Court of London and Westminster, and the late Lines of Justice. Communication; which being read twice on the 14th, it was resolved, That the Court, to be erected by this Act, should bear the Name of an *High Court of Justice*. The Bill was then committed; and

Inter-regnum.
1650.

March.

and the Committee were to have Power to consider of such Persons as were Judges in the Trial of the Duke of *Hamilton*, &c. and such others as they should think fit, and present them to the House.

March 21. This Day the House resumed the Debate on the foregoing Act, when some Amendments were made to it; and some Commissioners named, and ordered it to be engrossed; but it was not finally concluded till

March 26. When being read, and a Proviso added, 'That this Act, nor any Thing therein contained, should extend to the diminishing or lessening any Power or Authority formerly given to the Lord-General or his Council of War, or to the Admirals at Sea, by Authority of Parliament, for executing of Martial Law,' the Act passed without any Division.

The Estates of
Delinquents, re-
siding abroad,
ordered to be se-
cured.

Towards the latter End of this Month a Report was made to the House from the Council of State, That it appeared, by Letters, that Sir *Christopher Hatton*, called the Lord *Hatton*, was beyond the Seas, with the late Queen and her Son, and is active there against this Commonwealth, and yet enjoys his Estate here by Composition. After some Debate on this Matter the House resolved, on the Question, 'That the Estate of Sir *Christopher Hatton* be forthwith sequestred:' And, to carry this Blow farther, it was at the same Time resolved, 'That all such Persons as had compounded for their Delinquency, and were then beyond the Seas without Leave, their Estates, Real and Personal, should be forthwith secured.' And it was refer'd to the Sequestrating Committee, who had long sat at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, to see this Vote speedily put in Execution.

We shall end this Month with observing that, by a Report made to the House from the Committee of the Army, it appeared that the Monthly Charge thereof in *England* and *Ireland* amounted to 101,578 l.

April

April. The State the Nation was in at this Time under this new Republic, was far from being serene and prosperous. The Jealousy of the Royal Family, and Insurrections in their Favour; the late great Disturbance by the *Levellers*, whom indeed they had crush'd, but not slain; and new Sects of Principles, equally dangerous to them, every Week springing up. Add to these, the Wars in *Ireland*, and the Expectancy of another Invasion from *Scotland*; all which must, together, make this Government uneasy on all Sides.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
April.

However, this Fragment of a Parliament had assumed to themselves not only all the Legislative Powers that were ever enjoyed by the other two more antient States of the Kingdom, but they even absorbed and exercised the Jurisdiction of the more ordinary Courts of Justice, by trying and giving Sentence, to the Pillory or otherways, against Persons convened before them, *secundum Arbitrium*, as Mr. *Whitlocke* expressly tells us^a; some Instances of which now lie before us: For this very Day, *April 1*, six Persons were adjudged to be set in the Pillory, and lose both their Ears; also to be committed to the House of Correction, there to be kept to hard Labour for one Year, for forging Bills of Exchange, and counterfeiting Warrants, whereby they had defrauded the Government of 3000*l*.

The Parliament sentence six Persons to stand in the Pillory for Forgery.

The Debate on the Bill for regulating Elections, and making an equal Representative, still continued every *Wednesday*; and this Day, *April 3*, it was again resumed in a Grand Committee of the whole House, without concluding any Thing. Adjourned the Debate to the same Day Se'nnight.

Ordered, ' That all Patents for creating or granting any Titles of Honour to any Person or Persons whatsoever, after the carrying away the Great Seal to *Oxford*, be annulled and made void: And that no Person presume to give them the said Title of Honour; nor the said Person or Persons, to whom such Title is so granted, do take the said Title

All Titles of Honour granted since carrying the Great Seal to *Oxford*, declared void.

^a *Memorials*, p. 424.

256 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

April.

The City of London resolve to support the Parliament.

Title upon him. The Lords Commissioners to bring in an Act accordingly.

The same Day several Aldermen of the City of London presented a Writing to the House, intituled, *The humble and thankful Acknowledgment of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London*; giving Thanks to the Parliament for their Gift of *Richmond New Park* to the City; and that they do declare and resolve, (thro' God's Assistance) with the Hazard of their Lives and Estates, to stand and fall with the Parliament against all wicked Practices and opposite pretended Powers whatsoever. Which being read, the said Aldermen were again called in, and the Speaker, in the Name of the House, returned them Thanks.

The King's Arms ordered to be taken down in all Churches, Ships, &c.

April 9. This Day the House resolved that the Arms of the late King should be taken down in all Ships of, and belonging to, this Commonwealth; as also of all Merchants or others inhabiting within the same; and that the Admirals at Sea be required to see the same done accordingly. Also that all Justices of the Peace in the respective Counties, and all other public Magistrates and Officers, Churchwardens, and Wardens of Companies, be authoriz'd and requir'd to cause the Arms of the late King to be taken down and defaced in all Churches, Chapels, and all other public Places within *England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick*. This Order to be forthwith printed and published; and, consonant to it, the King's Arms were taken down every where, and the States Arms put up in their Stead.

Kilkenny surrendered.

April 12. The House having received a Letter from Col. *Hewson*, Governor of *Dublin*, with Advice of the Surrender of the City and Castle of *Kilkenny*, in *Ireland*, the Speaker was ordered to write him a Letter of Thanks, as an Acknowledgment of his good Services therein.

The rest of this Month was taken up in debating and voting small Matters in regard to this History,

tory, and therefore we omit them. Abstracts from some particular Acts passed in it, will fall in the Sequel. A Bill for suppressing Adultery, Incest, and Fornication, was carrying on at this Time, under very severe Penalties: For this Day, *April 12*, the following Clause was agreed upon to be added to the Bill: *That in case any married Woman shall, from and after , be carnally known by any Man but her Husband, except in case of Ravishment, and of such Offence be convicted, it shall be adjudged Felony: And every such Man or Woman offending therein, and confessing the same, or being convicted by Verdict, shall suffer Death, as in case of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy. Provided, That this shall not extend to any Man who, at the Time of such Offence committed, is not knowing that the Woman is then married: And that this Act do not extend to Women whose Husbands are beyond the Seas; or who absent themselves from their Wives for the Space of five Years, when there is a common Fame that their Husbands, are dead.* This Act took up still more Time in perfecting; for, *April 26*, the Time to be limited, as to a Husband's Absence, either for five or three Years, being put to the Question, it was carried for the latter, by 22 against 14.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

April.

The Acts passed this Month, worth our Notice, (of which it will be sufficient to give the most material Clauses) were, one *For Provision for Ministers, and other pious Uses.* Hereby it was enacted, 'That out of the Improvements, Tythes, &c. late belonging to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, an Augmentation be made to the Stipends of preaching Ministers; that 2000*l. per Ann.* be paid to the Masters and Heads of Houses in the two Universities, not exceeding 100*l.* to any one of them; and 80*l. per Ann.* to the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Oxford,' with several Clauses and Provisoos reciting former Acts on this Subject. Another Act was passed, *For inflicting certain Penalties for Breach of the Lord's Day and other solemn Days.* By which it was enacted, 'That

Acts passed for a better Provision for the Clergy;

For a stricter Observation of the Sabbath, &c.

258 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

May.

Goods cried or put to Sale on the Lord's Day, or Days of public Humiliation or Thanksgiving, should be seized: Travellers, Waggoners, &c. not observing those Days, to forfeit 10s. Any Writ, Warrant, &c. executed on those Days, to be of no Effect, and the Person offending to forfeit 5*l*. No Person to use or travel with Boat, Horse, Coach, or Sedan, except to Church, upon Pain of 10s. The like Penalty for being in a Tavern, Ale-house, &c. Dancing or profanely Singing on any of those Days. Where Distress could not be found sufficient to satisfy the respective Penalties, the Offender to sit in the Stocks six Hours.' This Act was ordered to be yearly read in all Churches the first Lord's Day in *March*.

The Parliament,
being apprehen-
sive of an Inva-
sion from Scot-
land, make an
Addition to their
Army.

May. The House continued jealous of the Designs of the *Scots* and the great Armament they were raising; for, on the Receipt of a Letter from *Edinburgh*, the 9th of last Month, they order'd it to be referr'd to the Council of State; who were impowered and required, by all Ways and Means that they should think fit, to prevent all Invasions from abroad, and to preserve the Peace of this Nation from all Tumults and Insurrections at home.

May 7. In pursuance of this Order Col. *Morley* reported from the Council of State, that they found it necessary, for answering the said Ends, that, besides the present Forces, there be yet this Addition made to them, *viz*. That the eight Regiments of Horse of the standing Army, being now 480 Men, be made up 600 each: That two new Troops of Dragoons be added to the eight now in being; and all the ten Troops to consist of 100 Men each: That two Troops of the said Dragoons be arm'd and paid as Horse, for such Time as the Council of State shall think necessary: That a Troop of Horse, to consist of 80, be raised for the Safety of the Isle of *Wight*: That three Troops of Horse, of 100 each, be raised for the Service of the Gar-
risons

risons of *Newcastle*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*: That there be also two new Regiments of Foot raised, each to consist of 1200 Men, to be paid only for so long Time as the Council of State shall find it necessary for the Service of the Commonwealth. And that this Increase of the Army will be an additional Charge of 8259*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* per Menssem.

Inter-regnum
1650.
May

After reading this Report the House resolved that these additional Forces shall be raised in the Manner as above proposed, and be paid by the Committee of the Army as they receive Signification thereof from the Council of State.

It may be remembered that, under the Transactions of *August*, 1648^a, we took Notice of a Charge of High Treason being presented to the House of Lords against General *Cromwell* by Major *Huntington*; but that failing in his Attempt to lay it before the Commons, he threw up his Commission, and publish'd a Narrative of his Reasons for so doing. From that Time we hear no more of this Affair till this Day, *May* 7; when the Major having applied for Payment of the Arrears due to him from the Parliament, the House not only ordered them to be stopp'd, but referred it to a Committee to consider and examine the seditious Practices of the said Major, against the Parliament and Commonwealth of *England*, at the Time when the *Scots* invaded this Nation.

May 10. The Act for suppressing the detestable Sins of Incest, Adultery, and Fornication, was read a third Time, and some Provisoes were added to it, as,

1. 'That no Party's Confession should be taken as Evidence, within this Act, against any other but only such Party so confessing.
2. 'Nor any Husband to be a Witness against his Wife, nor any Wife against her Husband.
3. 'Nor any Servant against his or her Master or Mistress, for any Offence punishable by this Act.'

R 2

But

^a In our 17th Volume, p. 359.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

May.

An Act passed
for suppressing of
Incest, Adultery,
and Fornication.

But the latter Proviso being put to the Question, it was carried in the Negative; as was also another for continuing it only for three Years; after which the whole Act, being put to the Question, passed without any more Division about it. The most material Clauses thereof were these; 'That all Persons guilty of Incest shall suffer Death, as in case of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy; that incestuous Marriages shall be void, and the Children illegitimate: That Adultery shall also be deem'd Felony, and punished with Death; but this shall not extend to any Man who, at the Time of committing such Offence, did not know the Woman to be married; nor to any Woman whose Husband shall be three Years absent from her, so as she did not know him to be living. In case of Fornication, both Parties, for the first Offence, were to suffer three Months Imprisonment without Bail, and also give Security for their good Behaviour for one whole Year after. Every common Bawd, for the first Offence, to be openly whipp'd, set in the Pillory, and there mark'd with a hot Iron in the Forehead with a B; also to be committed to the House of Correction for three Years without Bail, and untill sufficient Security be given for good Behaviour during Life: And the Persons a second Time found guilty of the last recited Offences were to suffer Death. All Prosecutions to be commenced within twelve Months.

Mr. *Whitlocke* tells us ^b, 'That Mr. *Henry Martin* declared his Opinion, That the Severity of the Punishment by this Act, being Death, would cause these Sins to be more frequently committed, because the People would be more cautious in committing them for Fear of the Punishment; and, being undiscovered, would be embolden'd the more in the Commitment of them.'

May 16. The House ordered a competent Number of the Acts against Adultery, and for the better Observation of the Lord's Day, &c. to be forth-
with

^b *Memorials*, p. 440.

with printed at the Public Charge; and that the Council of State take Care to send them to every Parish in the several Counties.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

May.

The Council of State had made divers Reports on the Order, of the 9th of *April* last, for securing the Peace of the Nation, which were all agreed to by the House: And on the 15th of this Month another Report being made from that Council, on occasion of raising Money to pay the additional Forces necessary for that Purpose; and the Act pass'd in *December* last, touching the Monthly Assessment expiring at *Midsummer* ensuing, the House resolv'd, on the 21st of this Month, to continue the same to *Christmas*, at the Rate of 90,000 *l.* per *Mensem* for the first Quarter, and 60,000 *l.* for the second, for Maintenance of the Forces raised for the Service of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Monthly Assessment, for Maintenance of the Army, further continued.

The same Day, *May* 21, the House appointed the 13th of *June* next for a Day of public Fasting and Humiliation, in an Act passed for that Purpose. The Preamble to which, expressing the Occasion, we deliver from that Authority.

' Altho' this Nation hath enjoyed many Blessings, and great Deliverances from the Hands of God; yet have the People thereof multiplied their Sins, as God hath multiplied his Blessings upon them, especially the Sins of Unthankfulness and Unfruitfulness, under such Gospel Means and Mercies; which may most justly provoke the Lord to multiply his Judgments upon this Nation: The Parliament taking the same into serious Consideration, as also the pernicious Designs of the Enemies of this Commonwealth, to engage the same in a new and bloody War; and being truly sensible of their own Inability to prevent or disappoint the same; and to testify that their whole Dependence is upon the Lord alone, and upon the Freeness of his Grace in Christ, do enact and ordain that *Thursday* the 13th of *June* next ensuing, be observ'd and kept in all Churches

A Fast appointed for the Success of the Parliament's Forces.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

May,

‘ and Chapels in *England* and *Wales*, and the
 ‘ Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, as a solemn Day
 ‘ of Fasting and Humiliation for the foremention-
 ‘ tion’d Sins, and for all other the Transgressions
 ‘ whereof this Nation is guilty ; and for imploring
 ‘ the Favour of God for a Blessing upon the Coun-
 ‘ sels and Endeavours of the Parliament, and upon
 ‘ their Forces by Land and by Sea ; and that our
 ‘ gracious God would be pleased to give the People
 ‘ of this Nation a Heart to serve him in Sincerity ;
 ‘ and to unite them against all Combinations and
 ‘ Practices of foreign or domestic Enemies to this
 ‘ Cause of God, (which the Parliament hath and
 ‘ shall, by his Blessing and Assistance, maintain to
 ‘ the End) that so at last, through the Goodness
 ‘ and Mercy of God, this Commonwealth may
 ‘ be establish’d in all Truth and Peace, to the
 ‘ Glory of God, and the Happiness of this Nation.
 ‘ And the Ministers of the respective Churches
 ‘ and Chapels aforesaid, are hereby required to
 ‘ give Notice hereof on the Lord’s Day next pre-
 ‘ ceding the said 13th of *June* ; at which Time
 ‘ also the said Ministers are required to publish this
 ‘ present Act.’

The rest of this Month was chiefly taken up with making more Preparations for withstanding the expected Invasion from the *Scots* ; in which great Care was taken by placing Forces, Garrisons, &c. in all suspected Counties, to hinder any Insurrections, at that Time, which might favour such Attempts. The Militia was also regulated by Orders and Ordinances for that Purpose.

We shall conclude the Transactions of this Month with mentioning a Piece of State the House put on, in refusing to accept a Letter from the Lord *Gerard Schaep*, sent over as a Commissioner from the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, directed, *A Monsf. Monsf. William Lenthall, Orateur de la Republique d’Angleterre, à Westminster* ; and ordered three of their Members to wait on him, and tell him, That they can admit of no Address to them,

them, by any foreign State or Prince whatsoever, but in the Style already enacted and declared, viz. *To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.*

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

June 4. This Day *Cromwell*, the Parliament's victorious General and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who had been sent for over, as already mentioned, took his Seat in the House; when the Speaker, by Order, gave him Thanks (in an eloquent Oration, as the *Journals* express it) for his faithful Services; setting forth the great Providence of God in those great and strange Works, which God had wrought by him as the Instrument.

Gen. *Cromwell* returns home.

June 6. The Parliament having resolved to appoint a standing Council for the Commonwealth, they this Day agreed upon Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Serjeant *Green* for that Purpose, by the Title of *Serjeants at Law for the Commonwealth*, and *Robert Reynolds*, Esq; to be their *Solicitor-General*: And the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal were ordered to sign Patents for them accordingly.

The Parliament appoint their standing Council.

June 7. We have already taken Notice of an Act being pass'd for the suppressing of Incest, Adultery, and Fornication, with several other pious Acts, which gave such Encouragement to the Reforming Members, that a Bill was order'd to be read the *Friday* ensuing, against the Vice of Painting, wearing black Patches, and immodest Dresses of Women: But no Mention is made of it in the *Journal* of that Day, nor in *Scobell's Acts*; from whence it seems the Ladies had Interest enough to nip this Project in the very Bud. Probably it was the Case then, as in more modern Times, for those Women who would be thought modest, to copy their Fashions from such of the Sex as were known to be otherwise.

A Bill ordered in against immodest Dresses of Women, but does not pass.

June 11. All the Members having been required to give their Attendance this Day by Nine in the Morning, General *Cromwell* standing up in his Place in the House, made a Narrative of the State of *Ireland*.

Gen. *Cromwell* gives the House an Account of the State of *Ireland* of

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

of the Garrisons and Forces of the Enemy in *Ireland*, and their Interest there; and likewise of the Parliament's Forces, in Garrison and in the Field, their Condition, in what Employment they were, and under what Commands. At the End of which it was resolved, That it be referred to the Council of State to take Care of sending such speedy Supplies of Money for *Ireland*, as shall be necessary for the carrying on of that Work; and to see what Money there is in present View that can be made effectual for that Service, and how the Obstructions against bringing it in may be removed. Also to consider by what Ways and Means the Reduction and Settlement of *Ireland* may be perfected to the best Advantage, and the future Ease of the Charge of this Commonwealth.

A Commissioner from the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* admitted to an Audience by the Parliament.

The same Day the Commissioner from the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, whom we mentioned to have been mistaken in his Address to their High Mightinesses at *Westminster*, (having altered his Style according to their Order) was admitted to an Audience; where he delivered in his Credentials, and the Desires of his Masters, in *French*, by word of Mouth. Soon after the House resolved to give an Answer to this Commissioner on a Day appointed; when being come into the Court of Wards, and the House apprized of it, the Serjeant was sent to attend him, together with the Master of the Ceremonies: Being come within the Door uncovered, he came up to the Bar, the Serjeant at Arms attending on his Right Hand, and the Master of the Ceremonies on the Left; where, after mutual Compliments between him and Mr. Speaker, all the Members standing, he sat down in a Chair, placed at the usual Place, on the North Side of the House; and, being set, Mr. Speaker delivered this Answer unto him by Word of Mouth, *viz.*

‘ The Parliament of the Commonwealth of
‘ *England* have taken into their serious Considera-
‘ tion what your Lordship did lately deliver unto
‘ them in Behalf of your Superiors, the High and
‘ Potent

‘ Potent Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, unto which I am commanded, in their Name, to return this Answer :

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

‘ The Parliament, both from the Motives remembered in your Lordship’s Paper, and from many other Reasons and Experiences of their own, hath, ever since it pleased God to restore this Commonwealth to its just Freedom, been so apprehensive of the common Benefits apparently redounding to this Nation, together with the High and Mighty Lords the States of the United Provinces, by a strict Alliance between them, that they thought fit long since to employ for that Purpose *Walter Strickland*, Esq; a Member of Parliament, with Addresses as well to the States General, as to the High and Potent Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*; which Proceeding of theirs doth give a sufficient Testimony on their Behalf, that the Fault hath not been in them if so desirable an Union and Friendship between the two Commonwealths hath not been attained.

‘ And although the Applications made by our said Resident to the States General, on so friendly a Subject, and for so good an End, have been hitherto neglected, and not so much as an Audience yet given to him; which the Parliament cannot but take Notice of, as not understanding why the Friendship of this Commonwealth should be of so small Consideration with them: Yet the Parliament are so well satisfied with the Deportment of the High and Mighty Lords the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* towards this Commonwealth and their said Resident *Walter Strickland*, in the Applications which he hath made on their Part, and of the Endeavours which the said High and Potent Lords, from Time to Time, have used with the other Provinces, not only to prevent any Misunderstanding, but to maintain all friendly and good Correspondency between the two States, that they do the more chearfully and readily entertain what
‘ hath

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

‘ hath been propounded to them by your Lordship ;
 ‘ and do resolve to answer those Assurances of
 ‘ Friendship and neighbourly Commerce which
 ‘ your Lordship doth give on the Behalf of your
 ‘ Superiors, with most real Returns of good Ac-
 ‘ ceptance ; desiring, as an happy Result from the
 ‘ same, that this Commonwealth and the States of
 ‘ *Holland* and *West-Friesland* may not only corre-
 ‘ spond together in a neighbourly and friendly Com-
 ‘ merce, but may at last grow up to so strict an
 ‘ Union and Alliance, as may be found necessary
 ‘ for the Good of both.

‘ And as there shall be Occasion for your Lord-
 ‘ ship to represent any further Particulars concern-
 ‘ ing the Interest of that Province, or of any Mem-
 ‘ ber thereof, whereunto there is no proper Reme-
 ‘ dy applicable in the ordinary Course of Justice,
 ‘ the Parliament hath empowered the Council of
 ‘ State to receive the same, and give such Answers
 ‘ from Time to Time as shall be requisite, and
 ‘ may witness the Regard which this Common-
 ‘ wealth hath to the Friendship of those by whom
 ‘ your Lordship is deputed.’

This being ended, Mr. Speaker, by the Ma-
 ster of the Ceremonies, delivered the same Answer
 to the Commissioner in Writing, sign’d by the
 Clerk : Which having received, he return’d a
 Reply to this Effect :

*Here follows an Hiatus in the Journals, and we
 are left in the Dark as to the Answer made by
 the Commissioner.*

The House ha-
 ving resolv’d that
 Lord *Fairfax*
 and Gen. *Crom-*
well should
 march with an
 Army into the
 North,

June 12. The House voted that the Lord-Ge-
 neral *Fairfax* and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*,
 (Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*) should both be com-
 manded to go upon the Northern Expedition.
 And that the Council of State do acquaint them
 with it, and take Care for their speedy March to-
 wards *Scotland*.

June 14. Sir *Gilbert Pickering* reported from the
 Council of State, that they had communicated the
 Order

Order of the House to the two great Officers of the Army; that both of them expressed their Readiness for this Employment; and also that Things were put in such a Course, that the Army will be ready to march in a short Time. But

Inter-regnum.
1650.
June.

June 25. The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* And Lord *Fairfax* having declined accepting the Command in that Expedition, reported from the Council of State, That they being acquainted by the Lord-General *Fairfax*, that some Difficulties were upon him concerning the undertaking of the Service required of him by the new Commission sent to him from the Parliament; thereupon the Council had appointed a Committee to confer with his Lordship for his Satisfaction, which was endeavoured by them, upon a long Debate with his Lordship: The Result upon which Conference was to this Effect; That the Lord-General doth conceive that, upon the new Commission coming to him, the former Commission of General is at an End, and he freed from that Charge; and in regard of his own Infirmities and want of Health, and want of Freedom to undertake this Service as a new Employment, and the Greatness and Weight of the Charge, he humbly desired to be excused; and for that Purpose intended to signify his Mind herein unto the Parliament.

Here follows another Hiatus in the Journals, where, most probably, the Lord Fairfax's real Reasons for resigning his Commission were entered: But this Deficiency is amply made up by Mr. Whitlocke in his Memorials, who has also given us a Narrative of the whole Conference on this very remarkable Occasion between Lord Fairfax and the Committee from the Council of State, of which himself was one. This therefore we shall give in his own Words.

The Juncto of the Council of State with whom A Committee of the Council of State endeavour to persuade him to it.
Cromwell consulted, having Intelligence of the King's Resolution for *Scotland*, of the Laws there made, and of Forces to assist him in his intended Invasion of *England*, whereof they had more than ordinary

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

ordinary Assurance; they therefore thought it not prudent to be behind-hand with their Enemy, nor to be put to an After-game, to stay till they should first invade *England*; but rather to carry the War, from their native Country, into *Scotland*.

‘As to the Objection, *That their Invading of Scotland would be contrary to the Covenant*, they were satisfied that the Covenant was broken and dissolved before by the *Scots*, and was not now binding betwixt the two Nations: That the levying Forces in *Scotland*, and marching some of them to the Borders of *England*, with the hostile Acts done by them formerly, were sufficient Grounds for the Parliament to provide for the Security of themselves and Countrymen; the which could not be so effectually done, as by carrying the War, which they designed upon us, unto their own Doors.

‘Upon these and many other weighty Considerations, it was resolved here, That having a form’d Army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into *Scotland*; to prevent the *Scots* marching into *England*, and the Miseries, accompanying their Forces, to our Countrymen.

‘The Lord-General *Fairfax* being advised with herein, seemed at first to like well of it; but afterwards being, hourly, persuaded by the Presbyterian Ministers and his own Lady, who was a great Patroness of them, he declared himself unsatisfied that there was a just Ground for the Parliament of *England* to send their Army to invade *Scotland*: But that in case the *Scots* should invade *England*, then he was forward to engage against them in Defence of his own Country.

‘The Council of State, somewhat troubled at his Excellency’s Scruples, appointed *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, *St. John*, and *Whitlocke*, to be a Committee to confer hereupon with him; and to endeavour to satisfy him of the Justice and Lawfulness of this Undertaking.

‘Accordingly this Committee met Lord *Fairfax*, and being shut up together in a Room in *Whitehall*,

Whitehall, they went first to Prayer, that God would direct them in this Business; and Cromwell began. Most of the Committee also prayed, after which they discoursed to this Effect:

Inter-regnum.
1650.
June.

CROMWELL. *My Lord-General, we are com-* An Account of
manded, by the Council of State, to confer with your the Conference
Excellency touching the present Design (whereof you on that Occasion,
have heard some Debate in the Council) of marching
the Army under your Command into Scotland; and
because there seemed to be some Hesitation in yourself
as to that Journey, this Committee were appointed
to endeavour to give your Excellency Satisfaction in
any Doubts of yours which may arise concerning that
Affair, and the Grounds of that Resolution of the
Council for the Journey into Scotland.

LORD-GENERAL FAIRFAX. *I am very glad of*
the Opportunity of conferring with this Committee,
where I find so many of my particular Friends, as
well as of the Commonwealth, about this great Bu-
siness of our March into Scotland; wherein I do
acknowledge myself not fully satisfied as to the
Grounds and Justice of our Invasion into Scotland,
and I shall be glad to receive Satisfaction therein by
you.

LAMBERT. *Will your Excellency be pleased to*
favour us with the particular Causes of your Dis-
satisfaction?

LORD-GENERAL. *I shall very freely do it; and I*
think I need not make to you, or to any that know me,
any Protestation of the Continuance of my Duty and
Affection to the Parliament, and my Readiness to
serve them in any Thing wherein my Conscience will
give me Leave.

HARRISON. *There cannot be more desired nor ex-*
pected from your Excellency.

WHITLOCKE. *No Man can doubt of the Fide-*
lity and Affection of your Excellency to the Service of
the Commonwealth; you have given ample Testimony
thereof, and it will be much for the Advantage of
their Affairs if we may be able to give you Satisfac-
tion

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

tion (as I hope we shall) touching the particular Points wherein your Doubts arise.

ST. JOHN. I pray, my Lord, be pleased to acquaint us with your particular Objections against this Journey.

Lord-General. My Lords, you will give me Leave then, with all Freeness, to say to you, That I think it doubtful whether we have a just Cause to make an Invasion upon Scotland.

With them we are joined in the National League and Covenant; and now for us, contrary thereunto, and without sufficient Cause given us by them, to enter into their Country with an Army, and to make War upon them, is that which I cannot see the Justice of, nor how we shall be able to justify the Lawfulness of it before God or Man.

CROMWELL. I confess, my Lord, that, if they have given us no Cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable for us to do it; and to make War upon them without a sufficient Ground for it, will be contrary to that which in Conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good Men.

But, my Lord, if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have done, since the National Covenant, and contrary to it, in that Action of the Duke of Hamilton, which was by Order and Authority from the Parliament of that Kingdom, and so the Act of the whole Nation by their Representatives: And if they now give us too much Cause of Suspicion that they intend another Invasion upon us, joining with their King, with whom they have made a full Agreement, without the Assent or Privity of this Commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising Forces and Money to carry on their Design: If these Things are not a sufficient Ground and Cause for us to endeavour to provide for the Safety of our own Country, and to prevent the Miseries which an Invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your Excellency's Judgment.

That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a War into the Bowels of our Country, is known to all

all, wherein God was pleased to bless us with Success against them; and that they now intend a new Invasion upon us I do as really believe, and have as good Intelligence of it, as we can have of any Thing that is not yet acted.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

Therefore I say, my Lord, that, upon these Grounds, I think we have a most just Cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their Hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our Country (if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great Misery and Calamity of having an Army of Scots within our Country.

That there will be a War between us, I fear is unavoidable. Your Excellency will soon determine whether it be better to have this War in the Bowels of another Country or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think it is without Scruple.

Lord-General. It is probable there will be a War between us, but whether we should begin this War, and be on the offensive Part, or only stand upon our Defence, is that which I scruple. And although they invaded us under the Duke of Hamilton, who pretended the Authority of the Parliament then sitting for it, yet their succeeding Parliament disown'd that Engagement, and punished some of the Promoters of it.

WHITLOCKE. Some of the principal Men in that Engagement of the Duke of Hamilton's, are now in great Favour and Employment with them, especially in their Army since raised, and now almost ready to advance into England; and I believe your Excellency will judge it more Prudence for us (who have an Army under your Command ready formed, and experienced Soldiers, whom God hath wonderfully prospered under your Conduct) to prevent their coming into England, by visiting of them in their own Country.

Lord-General. If we were assur'd of their coming with their Army into England, I confess it were Prudence for us to prevent them, if we are ready to advance into Scotland before they can march into England; but what Warrant have we to fall upon them,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

them, unless we can be assured of their Purpose to fall upon us?

HARRISON. *I think, under Favour, there cannot be greater Assurance or human Probability of the Intentions of any State, than we have of theirs to invade our Country; else what means their present Levies of Men and Money, and their quartering Soldiers upon our Borders? It is not long since they did the like to us, and we can hardly imagine what other Design they can have to employ their Forces.*

Lord-General. *Human Probabilities are not sufficient Grounds to make War upon a Neighbour Nation, especially our Brethren of Scotland, to whom we are engaged in a Solemn League and Covenant.*

ST. JOHN. *But, my Lord, that League and Covenant was first broken by themselves, and so dissolved as to us; and the disowning of the Duke of Hamilton's Action, by their latter Parliament, cannot acquit the Injury done to us before.*

CROMWELL. *I suppose your Excellency will be convinced of this clear Truth, that we are no longer obliged by the League and Covenant which themselves did first break.*

Lord-General. *I am to answer only for my own Conscience, and what that yields unto as just and lawful, I shall follow; and what seems to me, or what I doubt to be otherwise, I must not do.*

WHITLOCKE. *Your Excellency is upon a very right Ground, and our Business is to endeavour your Satisfaction in those Doubts you make: If we shall stay till they first invade us, we shall suffer much Misery to come among us, which probably we may prevent by sending first to them; and surely, by the Law of Nations, if an Ally enter in an hostile Manner into his Neighbour Nation, contrary to the Alliance, and be beaten out again, that Nation thus invaded may lawfully afterwards invade the other, to requite the former Wrongs done unto them: But besides this we cannot but see their present Preparations to be against us, for they are in Amity with all others; and their Conjunction now with the King's Party,*

Party, may plainly enough discover their Designs against this Commonwealth. Inter-regnum; 1650.

Lord-General. I can but say, as I said before, That every one must stand or fall by his own Conscience: Those who are satisfied of the Justice of this War, may chearfully proceed in it; those who scruple it (as I confess I do) cannot undertake any Service in it.

I acknowledge that which hath been said to carry much Weight and Reason with it; and none can have more Power upon me than this Committee, nor none be more ready to serve the Parliament than myself, in any Thing wherein my Conscience shall be satisfied. In this it is not; and therefore, that I may be no Hindrance to the Parliament's Designs, I shall willingly lay down my Commission, that it may be in their Hands to chuse some worthier Person than myself; and who may, upon clear Satisfaction of his Conscience, undertake this Business, wherein I desire to be excused.

CROMWELL. I am very sorry your Lordship should have Thoughts of laying down your Commission, by which God hath blessed you in the Performance of so many eminent Services for the Parliament. I pray, my Lord, consider all your faithful Servants, us who are Officers, who have served under you, and desire to serve under no other General. It would be a great Discouragement to all of us, and a great Discouragement to the Affairs of the Parliament, for our Noble General to entertain any Thoughts of laying down his Commission. I hope your Lordship will never give so great an Advantage to the public Enemy, nor so much dishearten your Friends, as to think of laying down your Commission.

LAMBERT. If your Excellency should not receive so much Satisfaction as to continue your Command in the Parliament's Service, I am very fearful of the Mischiefs which might ensue, and the Distraction in the public Affairs, by your laying down your Commission; but I hope that which hath been offered unto you by this Committee, upon your serious Consideration,

274 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

tion, will so far prevail with your noble and pious Disposition, and with your Affection to this Cause wherein we are so deeply engaged, as that you will not, especially at this Time, leave your old Servants and Officers, and the Conclusion of the most glorious Cause that ever Men were engaged in.

HARRISON. It is indeed, my Lord, the most righteous and the most glorious Cause, that ever any of this Nation appeared in; and now when we hope that the Lord will give a gracious Issue and Conclusion to it, for your Excellency then to give it over, will sadden the Hearts of many of God's People.

Lord-General. What would you have me do? As far as my Conscience will give Way I am willing to join with you still in the Service of the Parliament; but where the Conscience is not satisfied, none of you, I am sure, will engage in any Service; that is my Condition in this, and therefore I must desire to be excused.

Thus far the Conference between Lord *Fairfax* and the Committee from the Council of State.— Upon which Mr. *Whitlocke* remarks ^b, 'That tho' none of them were so earnest to persuade his Lordship to continue his Commission as *Cromwell* and the Soldiery, yet there was Reason enough to believe they did not over-much desire it.' But Mr. *Ludlow's* Account of the Lieutenant-General's Behaviour on this Occasion goes farther. This Memorialist informs us ^c, 'That *Cromwell*, upon Lord *Fairfax's* Unwillingness to march into *Scotland*, press'd that, notwithstanding this, the Parliament would yet continue him General; professing, for his own Part, that he would rather chuse to serve under his Lordship in his Post, than to command the greatest Army in *Europe*.' He adds, 'That at the Meeting of the Committee of the Council of State, which had been appointed upon *Cromwell's* own Motion, he acted his Part

^b *Memorials*, p. 446. ^c *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 315.

Part so to the Life, that our Author really thought him in earnest; which, says he, obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing, with the rest of the Committee, out of the Council-Chamber; and to desire him that he would not, in Compliment and Humility, obstruct the Service of the Nation by his Refusal: But the Consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such Intention.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

The same Day that Mr. *Whitlocke* had reported to the House Lord *Fairfax's* Desire of resigning his Commission, they resolved, That a Committee be appointed to go to his Lordship, and let him know the Parliament's high Esteem and good Acceptation of those eminent and faithful Services, which have, by the Blessing of God upon his Endeavours, been by him performed for the Commonwealth, to which they are persuaded of his continued Fidelity and Affection.

The Parliament
pass a Vote of
Thanks to Lord
Fairfax, for his
faithful Services.

It was also ordered, That all the Records belonging to the late House of Peers, be delivered to Mr. *Scobell*, the present Clerk to the Parliament.

The next Day, *June 26*, the first Thing resolved on was, That all the Members of Parliament be called out of *Westminster-Hall*; that the outward Room be cleared, and the Door of the House shut. Then the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* made another Report from the Council of State, That, in pursuance of the Order of Parliament of the 9th of *April* last, they had put an Army in Readiness, and had given them Orders to march Northward: And that, upon mature Consideration of what was required by the said Order, it was the Opinion of that Council, That they cannot prevent an Invasion from *Scotland*, but by the marching of an Army into that Kingdom: The Justice and Necessity of which Expedition was set forth in a Declaration; a Draught whereof was offered to the Consideration of Parliament.

The said Declaration being read by Parts, and every Part put to the Question, it was with some

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

They resolve to
send an Army
into Scotland
forthwith,

The Parliament
to vote a day
of fasting
and prayer
for the
success of
the Army

Amendments assented unto, *nem. con.* Afterward it was *resolved*, upon the Question, *nem. con.* 'That it was just and necessary for the Army of *England* to march into *Scotland* forthwith.' The Declaration was also ordered to be printed and published, with several other Papers annex'd thereto, (which we have already given in their proper Order ^b) under the Inspection of the Council of State; to whom it was referred to take Care for the stopping of all Correspondency, Intelligence, Traffic, or Commerce, between *England* and *Scotland*, as they should see Cause.

Neither this Declaration, nor so much as an Abstract of it, is printed in *Clarendon*, *Whitlocke*, or any other Historian of these Times. It is preserved, however, in our Collection of old Pamphlets; and since it must be now a Curiosity to see the Motives that induced the Parliament of *England* to send an Army to invade their Brethren of *Scotland* at this Time, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant long since made between them, we shall give it in its own Words ^c.

A DECLARATION of the PARLIAMENT of England, upon the marching of their Army into Scotland.

Also publish a
Declaration of
the Justice and
Necessity there-
of,

THE Miseries and Evils which are the sad and inevitable Consequences of every War, are so great, that it ought not to be undertaken or prosecuted but upon Grounds of Justice and Necessity; especially between those with whom no Arguments are wanting for common Defence, and where Profession of the same Religion should be a stronger Bond of mutual Union.

This Consideration hath long held back the Parliament of *England* from making Use of Force, in reference to *Scotland*, notwithstanding the Justice of their Cause, and the Greatness of their Provocation; that they might avoid the Effusion

of

^b In this Volume, p. 40, 47; 141, 2, 4.

^c Printed by *William Dugard*, by the Appointment of the Council of State, 1650.

‘ of Blood, and those other Miseries and Calamities which must in common involve even such of that Nation, who may have kept themselves free from the Guilt of those Things which compel this War; and whose Principles may dispose them to the same Ends with us, when they shall have discovered their own true Interest.

Inter-regnum.

1656.

June.

‘ And, in the mean time, the Parliament hath not been wanting in the Offer of all fair and amicable Means for composing the Difference and obtaining due Satisfaction; nor suffered their just Resentment of the Slight and Rejection of those Offers, to carry them out immediately to the last Remedy; but have with much Patience expected, if the good Providence of God should mercifully discover any fit Expedient, whereby they might obtain their just Ends, rather than by Arms.

‘ But by all the Observations we can make of their Actions, and out of their Declarations, and by the best Intelligence of their present Motions and Designs, their total Averseness to Amity and Friendship with this Commonwealth is most apparent, and the same hostile Disposition continues, notwithstanding the signal Hand of God against them upon their late Invasion.

‘ Their Design is still carried on, and they have not lost their Time in Preparations to execute it, both by their Treaties and Correspondences abroad, and by putting all Things in a Posture for it at home.

‘ The Parliament of *England*, upon serious Consideration hereof, and of their Duty to this Commonwealth, with whose Good and Safety they are entrusted, have judged it just and necessary, that an Army be forthwith sent into *Scotland*: The Justice, Necessity, and Ends whereof they declare in the Particulars following:

‘ Wherein, not to insist upon many Wrongs and Provocations from the Commissioners of *Scotland*, while they were here resident, and while nothing but Friendship and Unanimity in the same Cause was pretended by them; their Usurpation upon

278 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1655.

June.

‘ Acts of the Legislative Power; their frequent
 ‘ Pretensions to, and Contestations about, a joint
 ‘ Interest in some Acts of it; their seducing the
 ‘ People of this Commonwealth from their Affec-
 ‘ tion and Duty to the Parliament, and to embrace
 ‘ and promote the Interest of the late King, un-
 ‘ der Pretence of the Covenant; laying among the
 ‘ People Foundations of Concurrence with their
 ‘ future Invasion, sufficiently evidenced by the ma-
 ‘ ny Insurrections breaking forth in *England* in
 ‘ the Year 1648, when they invaded this Nation:
 ‘ Which Concurrence of Trouble might greatly
 ‘ have endangered the Return of Tyranny and Mi-
 ‘ sery upon us, had not the Hand of Almighty God
 ‘ mightily manifested itself in the carrying on of
 ‘ that Cause, which he hath still own’d, even with
 ‘ very great Disadvantage of Numbers and Prepa-
 ‘ rations.

‘ We shall let these, and divers other Particulars,
 ‘ pass, and come to that which demonstrates the
 ‘ Justice of this present Undertaking; the late Inva-
 ‘ sion of this Nation, authorized and commanded
 ‘ by the Parliament of *Scotland*: All of them con-
 ‘ curring in Design to make a Prey to themselves
 ‘ of the *English*, tho’ some Difference fell amongst
 ‘ them who should have the greatest Power of
 ‘ Command, and thereby the greatest Opportunity
 ‘ of advancing the Interest of either Party, under
 ‘ the specious Pretence of the Covenant.

‘ And therein may be remembered, first, their
 ‘ taking of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and putting Gar-
 ‘ risons into them in the Year 1648, contrary to
 ‘ the Large Treaty in the Year 1640, passed by
 ‘ the Parliaments of both Nations, by which those
 ‘ Towns, or any other Frontier Towns of either
 ‘ Nation, were not to be garrison’d; and accord-
 ‘ ingly were so left by the *English*.

‘ By that Treaty also three Months Warning
 ‘ was to have preceded War; yet this Invasion
 ‘ was made by the Authority of the Parliament of
 ‘ *Scotland*, while that Treaty was in Force; and
 ‘ that without any previous Declaration of War
 ‘ or

‘ or Hostility, as by that Treaty ought to have
 ‘ been. This also at a Time when the Parliament
 ‘ of *England* had Commissioners at *Edinburgh*, of-
 ‘ fering to compose all Differences between the
 ‘ Nations by a Treaty, which they refused; and
 ‘ their wicked Design carried on, not only by a
 ‘ Conjunction with the late King’s profess’d Party
 ‘ under *Langdale*; but they seduced from their
 ‘ Duty, and drew from their Obedience, several
 ‘ Forces of their own Nation, and some *English*,
 ‘ who were in the Pay of the Parliament of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, to come over out of *Ireland*, and treasonably
 ‘ to assist them in this Invasion.

Inter-regnum.
 1650.
 June.

‘ When it pleased our good God wonderfully to
 ‘ appear for us, in subduing and punishing our
 ‘ faithless Invaders; the Army, by our Authority,
 ‘ and by the Invitation of the Committee of Estates
 ‘ of *Scotland* sitting at *Edinburgh*, (Sir *Andrew Carr*
 ‘ and Major *Strachan* being sent by them with Let-
 ‘ ters of Credence, for that Purpose, to the Head-
 ‘ Quarters of our Army, then near *Berwick*) did
 ‘ march into *Scotland*; and, upon further Invita-
 ‘ tion from the Committee of Estates, by the Mar-
 ‘ quis of *Argyle*, Lord *Elcho*, and others, a great
 ‘ Part of our Army did march close to *Edinburgh*,
 ‘ the better to countenance and encourage their
 ‘ Army; they being then in Treaty with the Earl
 ‘ of *Crawford* and *Lindsay*, the Lord *Lanerk*, Sir
 ‘ *George Monroe*, and the rest of their Enemies, at
 ‘ *Stirling* Bridge; which having produced the de-
 ‘ sired Effects, our Army was received with great
 ‘ Expressions of Contentment and Rejoicing for
 ‘ the good Success which God had given them.

‘ The Enemies in the North Parts of *England*
 ‘ not being fully subdued, and our Army ready to
 ‘ return into *England*, upon the further and ear-
 ‘ nest Desire of the Committee of Estates, a con-
 ‘ siderable Part of it was left in *Scotland*, untill that
 ‘ Nation was settled in a peaceable Condition, and
 ‘ such Forces raised for their Defence as they thought
 ‘ fit. This being done, our Army returned into
 ‘ *England*, having been Instruments, by the Bless-
 ‘ ing

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

‘sing of God, of so much Good to that Nation,
 ‘and settling them in the Power which they now
 ‘enjoy; then highly by them acknowledged, own-
 ‘ing our Army for their Preservators, as indeed,
 ‘under God, they were; and professing their ear-
 ‘nest Desires and firm Resolution to continue a
 ‘grateful and constant Amity and Friendship with
 ‘*England*.

‘Yet now, laying aside all Consideration of for-
 ‘mer Kindnesses, and of their Expressions and En-
 ‘gagements of Justice and Treaties, the common
 ‘Bonds of human Society, they endeavour to exer-
 ‘cise their Power for the Destruction of those by
 ‘whose Means they did receive it; they again in-
 ‘sist upon the same Pretensions to Matters of our
 ‘Government, and take upon them to determine
 ‘what is fundamental here; and direct and threaten
 ‘us, if we change not what is now established, and
 ‘form it to their Mind, or accommodate it to their
 ‘Interest.

‘This is sufficiently cleared by the Protestation
 ‘made and sent to us by their Commissioners, the
 ‘Earl of *Lothian*, Sir *John Chiesley*, and Mr. *Glen-*
 ‘*dinning*, upon which we then gave our Sense in
 ‘a short Declaration; yet those Commissioners
 ‘were owned and justified by the Parliament of
 ‘*Scotland*, and no Censure passed on them, tho’
 ‘desired by the Parliament of *England*, who sent
 ‘them with a Guard to *Berwick*, to be delivered
 ‘to such as the Parliament of *Scotland* should send
 ‘to receive them.

‘But because real Injuries and great Provoca-
 ‘tions may, and ought sometimes to be, passed
 ‘over without War, though the Grounds of that
 ‘War be just, if it be not also necessary, Reasons
 ‘both of Prudence and Christianity requiring and
 ‘persuading it; the Parliament of *England* doth
 ‘hereby declare the Necessity under which they are
 ‘concluded to make this present Expedition, which
 ‘they have already evidenced to be just.

‘All fair and amicable Ways of procuring
 ‘Reparation of those great Damages which this
 ‘Na-

‘ Nation hath sustained by them, and by Occasion
 ‘ of their Invasion, have been rejected and denied;
 ‘ and that by the present Parliament of *Scotland*,
 ‘ and Power now ruling there, whereby they have
 ‘ owned the Wrong and Damage done to this Na-
 ‘ tion by that Invasion; which, upon due Consi-
 ‘ deration, will be found to amount to vast Sums,
 ‘ if all should be put upon their Account which this
 ‘ Commonwealth hath suffered by them and their
 ‘ Influence, both in respect of *Ireland*, the Revolt
 ‘ of Part of the Fleet appointed for that Summer’s
 ‘ Service when they invaded, the several Insurrec-
 ‘ tions at home, and their Invasion.

Inter-regnum.
 1650.

June.

‘ Their Design and Resolution again to invade
 ‘ us, will be the more evident, if we remember,
 ‘ *First*, ‘ That, upon Occasion of demanding only
 ‘ a Treaty for Satisfaction for their former Inva-
 ‘ sion, they do, in express Terms, declare them-
 ‘ selves Enemies to the Government of this Com-
 ‘ monwealth, and all that adhere thereto, and lay
 ‘ Foundations of Sedition, and new Insurrection,
 ‘ amongst ourselves.

‘ *Secondly*, ‘ In pursuance of these Grounds, they,
 ‘ who cannot claim to themselves the least Colour
 ‘ of Authority or Dominion over us, yet have ta-
 ‘ ken upon them, in *Scotland*, to proclaim *Charles*
 ‘ *Stuart* to be King of *England* and *Ireland*; and,
 ‘ in their Treaty since with him, have promised
 ‘ him their Assistance against this Nation.

‘ *Thirdly*, ‘ Before the late Invasion from *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, the Parliament of *England*, upon Foresight
 ‘ of their Disposition to what followed, and seeing
 ‘ their Preparation, and the Party they had seduced
 ‘ in order thereunto, believing what the Event was
 ‘ like to be, sent thither Commissioners to treat for
 ‘ preventing the Effusion of Blood; but the Treaty
 ‘ was refused, and answered only with the imme-
 ‘ diate March of their Army into *England*. Having
 ‘ therefore again refused the amicable Offer of a
 ‘ Treaty for Peace, we have reason to expect an-
 ‘ other Invasion.

Fourthly,

Inter-regnum.

1650.

June.

Fourthly, ‘ They have equally declared against us as Sectaries, as they have against those of *Montrose’s* Party, putting us into the same Rank with Malignants and Papists; although they cannot but know the Faith which we profess, who desire to worship God in the Spirit, rejoicing in Jesus, and have no Confidence in the Flesh; having our Hope of Justification and Remission of Sins in the Blood of Christ, and Salvation by the free Grace of God; mourning, from our very Souls, that any turn that Grace into Wantonness; being ready to bear our Witness against them, and desirous that the licentious Practices of those who do so, should be punished by the Magistrate. We cannot but think that an Interest of Dominion and Profit, under a Pretence of Presbytery and the Covenant, is, by these Men, of more Value and Esteem than the Peace and Love of the Gospel, to which all that may be called Discipline or Government in the Church is, and ought to be, subordinate; and for which the least Violation of the Love and Peace before-mentioned ought not to be. Their Design and Purpose being thus evident, a Necessity is upon us to use our best Endeavours, with God’s Assistance, to prevent them, and not leave them to invade us at their chosen Opportunity, and our greatest Disadvantage, when they shall have compleated their Design with Foreign States for their Aid, and with their Faction and Party in this Nation for Correspondence and Concurrence in their Attempts upon us; and that we may not be at the insupportable Charge of keeping several Armies in our own Bowels, and subject ourselves to the Contributions, Plunderings, and barbarous Usage of a *Scots* Army, if we suffer them again to enter; or of keeping one form’d Army constantly upon the Borders, for preventing or resisting those Attempts upon us, which they are waiting an Opportunity at their best Advantage to make. A Burthen from which we ought to apply

‘ apply our best Endeavours to free the People,
 ‘ who have suffered so deeply already by their
 ‘ Means; which hath been Part of their Design,
 ‘ hereby to bring the People to a Discontent with
 ‘ the Government from the Sense of Charge, with-
 ‘ out considering the Cause of the Continuance
 ‘ thereof, that so they may be fitted to receive their
 ‘ Impressions, and carry on their Faction among us,
 ‘ and keep it ready for them to make use of when
 ‘ they shall see Cause.

Inter-regnum.
 1650.

June.

‘ And although the Injuries and Provocations
 ‘ have been great and pressing above Measure,
 ‘ which have been put upon us, as is evident by
 ‘ what is before alledged; and that the Wrong-
 ‘ doers have left us no other Ways of Remedy or
 ‘ Vindication, saving what the Sword can produce;
 ‘ which, with the Blessing of God, succeeding,
 ‘ might invite Returns answerable to their Designs
 ‘ and Attempts upon us, if we should tread in their
 ‘ Steps: Yet the Lord is our Witness, that Domina-
 ‘ tion, Revenge, or worldly Gain are not the Mo-
 ‘ tives of our Engagement in this great Undertaking;
 ‘ but our Ends therein are, the Advancement of
 ‘ God’s Glory; the furthering of a just Freedom,
 ‘ where God shall minister the Opportunity; the
 ‘ procuring of a fit Satisfaction for what is past;
 ‘ and the settling of a clear Security for the Time
 ‘ to come, against the like Injuries and Mischiefs;
 ‘ which, as we hold it most just and necessary for
 ‘ us to seek after, for Prevention of our further
 ‘ Sufferings by them, and their further Guilt; so
 ‘ we shall much rejoice if it may be attained with-
 ‘ out Blood; and that those who fear God in both
 ‘ Nations may be led, by these great Shakings, out
 ‘ of all carnal Confidence and Expectations, to
 ‘ meet together in the Power of true Religion and
 ‘ Holiness, to serve and worship God according to
 ‘ his Mind reveal’d in his Word; which is our
 ‘ Hearts Desire to make the Rule of our Ways and
 ‘ Actions.

HEN. SCOBELL,
 Cleric. Parliament.

The

Inter-regnum.
1650.

June.

And appoint
Cromwell Cap-
tain-General, on
Lord *Fairfax*'s
resigning his
Commission.

The same Day, *June 26*, the Earl of *Pembroke* reported from the Committee appointed to attend the Lord-General *Fairfax* with the Vote of the House of Yesterday, That they had accordingly attended on him; and that his Lordship return'd his humble Thanks to the Parliament for their great Favour and Respects to him. The House being also informed that Mr. *Rushworth*, his Lordship's Secretary, was at the Door, he was called in; and acquainted Mr. Speaker, That the Lord-General had commanded him to present to the Parliament the last Commission he received from them; and likewise his first Commission, [which was granted in the Name of both Houses] if they pleased to command it: Accordingly the last Commission was delivered in. Next, it was resolved that Mr. *Rushworth* do likewise deliver in the first Commission, which was done. After all this Ceremony, an Act for repealing the Ordinance and Act of Parliament for constituting *Thomas Lord Fairfax* Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces raised by their Authority, was twice read, passed, and ordered to be forthwith printed and published; as was also another for appointing Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to succeed his Lordship in that important Station.

Mr. *Whitlocke* attributes the great Expedition made in passing these two Acts, to the Contrivance of *Cromwell*'s Friends, who urged the ill Consequences of the Army's being without a Head; and adds, 'That great Ceremonies and Congratulations of the new General were made to him from all Sorts of People; and that he went on roundly with his Business.' It is also observable, That though *Cromwell* (when in *Ireland*) had been twice sent to by Order of the House, requiring him to give his Attendance in Parliament, yet he always excused himself, on pretence that the public Service requir'd his Stay there, untill he was inform'd by his Friends that *Fairfax* was fully determined not to fight the *Scots*, and had Assurances that the Parliament would confirm his Appointment of his

Son-

Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, to be Deputy-Lieutenant of *Ireland* in his Absence. Having thus secured the Government of one Kingdom in his own Family, he was left at Leisure to form the Conquest of a second; and, by his Success in that Attempt, a few Years after, arrived at the absolute Command of all three. And indeed it appears to have been *Cromwell's* great Masterpiece of Policy to be always courted to accept what he most ardently wish'd to obtain.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
July.

June 28. The only Act passed this Month worth our Notice, besides those above-mentioned, was, *For better preventing and suppressing of profane Swearing and Cursing*; whereby it was enacted, That every Person styling himself a Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount or Baron, should, for the first Offence, forfeit 30*s.* a Baronet or Knight, 20*s.* an Esquire, 10*s.* a Gentleman, 6*s.* 8*d.* and all inferior Persons 3*s.* 4*d.* double for the second, &c. to the ninth; and for the tenth to be bound to the good Behaviour. The like Penalty on Women offending; a Wife or Widow to pay according to the Quality of her Husband, and a single Woman that of her Father. Penalties to be recovered by Distress and Sale of the Offenders Goods; and, in Default thereof, the Party, if above twelve Years of Age, to be set in the Stocks; if under, to be publicly whipt. This Act, which repealed the Statute 21. *Jac.* was ordered to be printed, and also published on the first Market-Day, in every Town, after the Receipt thereof.

An Act pass'd
against profane
Swearing.

July. About the Middle of last Month Mr. *Ascham*, Mr. *Ascham*, the whom the Parliament had sent as their Agent into Parliament's Agent in Spain, *Spain*, was assassinated at an Inn in *Madrid*, together with one Signor *Riba*, his Interpreter, by six *Englishmen*; who inquiring for Mr. *Ascham*, and being admitted to his Chamber, as he rose to salute them, the foremost laid hold on him by the Hair and stabb'd him; whereupon the Interpreter, endeavouring to make his Escape, was stabb'd by another.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

The House resolve that six Royalists be tried by the High Court of Justice, for High Treason against the Commonwealth.

another. The Murderers having fled for Refuge to the *Venetian* Ambassador's House, who refused them Entrance, they took Sanctuary in the next Church. When the Parliament was inform'd of this Affair by Mr. *Fisher*, their late Agent's Secretary, they first ordered that a Letter should be written to the King of *Spain*, and sign'd by their Speaker, to demand Justice on the Murderers of Mr. *Ascham*. Next Sir *Henry Mildmay* having reported from the Council of State, That (in regard of the said horrible Assassination and Murder, and also of several late Advertisements they had receiv'd of divers Persons being come into *England* with Intention of like Murder and Assassination; and that some faithful Persons to the State are particularly designed to be attempted upon) it was the said Council's Opinion the House should be moved to take into Consideration what they published, in their Declaration of the 18th of *May*, 1649, on occasion of the Murder of Dr. *Dorisslaus*^a; and give Order that something may be done effectually in pursuance thereof, to discourage and deter such bloody and desperate Men, and their Accompllices, from the like wicked Attempts for the future: Hereupon the House resolved that six of those Persons who have been in Arms against the Parliament, not being admitted to Composition, and are now in their Power and at their Mercy, be speedily proceeded against to Trial for their Lives, before the High Court of Justice, upon their former Offences, on occasion of the horrid and execrable Assassination of Mr. *Ascham*, Agent for the Parliament to the King of *Spain*, and of his Interpreter. Then it was further resolved that Sir *John Stawel*, Knight of the *Bath*, *David Jenkins*, Esq; a *Welch* Judge, Col. *Walter Slingsby*, and Capt. *Browne Busbel*, be four of the six; and it was referred to the Council of State to consider the Case of the several Prisoners; and to present Names to the Parliament, out of which they might elect two more. A Committee was also appointed to consider of the Powers already given

^a In this Volume, p. 124.

given to the High Court of Justice, and to prepare a Draught of a Supplemental Act to impower that Court to proceed against the said six Persons accordingly.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

July 3. Pursuant to the foregoing Order of the House, for adding two more Persons to the four already named, as a Sacrifice to the Manes of their Agent *Ascham*, the Committee this Day presented to the House the Names of six Persons for them to chuse two out of them, who were these following:

Sir *John Wintour*, now Prisoner in the *Tower*; *William Davenant*, called Sir *William Davenant*; Col. *Legge*, Prisoner at *Exeter*; Col. *Gerrard*, Prisoner in *Caernarvon* Castle, who had been in Arms against the Parliament, and in the Rebellion in *Ireland*; Capt. *John Randolph*, taken in the Insurrection with the Earl of *Holland*; and *Henry Stanley*, for endeavouring to carry away a Frigate belonging to the Commonwealth. Out of these the House first voted Col. *Gerrard* for one, without a Division; then Sir *William Davenant*, the famous Poet, being put to the Question, the House divided, the Yeas and Noes each 27, when the Speaker saved him by his single Voice. *Henry Stanley* also passed in the Negative. The House then left it to the Council of State to name one more themselves, to make up the Number of six Persons doomed to Trial; and the next Day they named Capt. *Randolph*, but the House changed him for Sir *William Davenant*; and soon after the Act for Trial of Sir *John Stawell*, and the rest, passed without any Division.

July 9. This Day the House voted that no Commissioners Person, employed as a Commissioner of Excise, should continue in any other public Employment for which he shall receive any Salary from the Commonwealth; nor trade or traffic in any Commodity exciseable, during the Time he shall continue a Commissioner of Excise. This Vote was not carried without two Divisions, on the Question,
in

of Excise prohibited holding any other Employment.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

A great Victory
obtain'd by the
Parliament's
Forces com-
manded by Sir
Charles Coote, in
Ireland.

in the House, and run so near as 29 against 24, and 27 against 26.

The same Day the Parliament received Advice from *Ireland*, of a great Victory obtain'd there against the Rebels, the 28th of *June* last, with a List of their Commanders slain or taken Prisoners in the Action; for which a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed to be held on the 26th Instant, throughout all *England*, *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick*. An Act for that Purpose, with a Declaration expressing the Grounds and Reasons thereof, was also ordered to be brought in; which being a Kind of Narrative of the Action, we shall give from that Authority. ^b

A Declaration
setting forth the
Particulars
thereof.

‘ **T**HE mighty Wonders that God hath wrought in and for *England*, and the Multitude of Mercies with which he has followed the Parliament throughout, in this great Cause which they have undertaken, for Asserting and Recovery of their just Rights and Liberties, with the Establishment of Truth and Righteousness, are always to be had in thankful Remembrance by us and our Posterities, and ought to endear this Commonwealth, after a most peculiar Manner, to seek the Lord, and become a People in whom his Soul may take Delight: For he it is that hath removed our Shoulders from the Burden, and hath delivered us from Tyranny and Bondage: He hath gone forth with our Armies, and the Weapons that have been form'd against us he hath not suffered to prosper.

‘ A most eminent Example of this his Grace and Goodness to us, we have Occasion at this Time to celebrate in respect of *Ireland*; where God hath not only begun his saving and delivering Work, to our Admiration, and the Astonishment of all our Enemies, but hath almost made an End, and that in a most glorious and remarkable Manner; so that we may truly say, the Lord hath soon

‘ sub-

^b It seems highly probable, from the *Journals*, that Sir Henry Vane, junr. was the Penman of this Declaration.

‘ subdued our Enemies in that Nation, and turned
 ‘ his Hand against our Adversaries; *the Haters of the*
 ‘ *Lord have been found Liars, and have not been*
 ‘ *able to stand in the Day of Battle*; but those cruel
 ‘ and Blood-thirsty Men have had his just Ven-
 ‘ geance so seasonably poured out upon them, that
 ‘ the innocent Blood of the many thousand Pro-
 ‘ testants there slain since this Rebellion, hath been
 ‘ revenged and punished upon the prime and emi-
 ‘ nent Actors of it. God, *that is unsearchable in*
 ‘ *his Councils, and in his Ways past finding out*, ha-
 ‘ ving call’d them to a strict Account, and given
 ‘ them Blood to drink, of which they were worthy,
 ‘ that all Nations may fear before him, and take
 ‘ heed how they set themselves against him and
 ‘ his People.

Inter-regnum
 1650.
 July

‘ It is as yet very little more than twelve Months
 ‘ when *Dublin and Londonderry* were the only con-
 ‘ siderable Places in all *Ireland* that remained un-
 ‘ der the Power of the Parliament; and those were
 ‘ so straitly block’d up and besieged by powerful
 ‘ Armies of the Enemy, that there was nothing
 ‘ left, but marvellous and extraordinary Appear-
 ‘ ances of God, whereby to set them free, and
 ‘ make Passage and give Footing unto the Army
 ‘ sent last Year from hence for the Reduction of
 ‘ that Dominion; whose Progress, by the Bless-
 ‘ ing of God, hath been such, as that, neither in
 ‘ Field nor Garrison, the Enemy is much consider-
 ‘ able.

‘ The Particulars of this last great Mercy given
 ‘ unto the Parliament’s Forces under Sir *Charles*
 ‘ *Coot*, Lord President of *Connaught*, against the
 ‘ whole Army of *Irish* Rebels in *Ulster*, command-
 ‘ ed by the Popish Bishop of *Clôgher*, have been,
 ‘ by an Express from the said Lord President, cer-
 ‘ tified to the Parliament; and are summ’d up in
 ‘ the Narrative following, and the Letters and Pa-
 ‘ pers themselves herewith, and heretofore, print-
 ‘ ed and made public.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘IT having pleased God so to bless our Armies
 ‘in *Leinster* and *Munster*, that the Enemy durst
 ‘no longer keep the Field in those Parts, the *Irish*
 ‘Rebels (having reduced themselves into a Body
 ‘meerly Popish, putting all Protestants, of what
 ‘Quality soever, from amongst them; and, till
 ‘when, they thought themselves less capable of
 ‘Success or any Blessing) look’d upon the Province
 ‘of *Ulster* as the fittest Refuge for their Preservation
 ‘and Subsistence, where the Parliament’s Forces lay
 ‘scattered in smallest Proportion, and (as the Na-
 ‘ture of that large Country required) at greatest
 ‘Distances; and where the Country was well near
 ‘wholly at their Devotion, the Papists (which in
 ‘those Parts are the most zealous, and therefore
 ‘the first in the Rebellion, and most bloody in the
 ‘Execution) upon their own Account entirely, and
 ‘the *Scots* upon their King’s, by whose Authority
 ‘and for whose Service this Army was raised; and
 ‘therefore as, by the last Year’s Experience, they
 ‘were sure of the *Scots* upon that common Interest,
 ‘so, for their Encouragement now, they did, by
 ‘many Declarations dispers’d among the *Scots*,
 ‘assure them of Security and Protection, if they
 ‘continued to own the said King’s Authority.

‘These Forces which, upon the Death of *Owen*
 ‘*Roe O’Neal*, were destitute of a Commander,
 ‘were supplied by *Ever MacMahon*, Bishop of
 ‘*Clogher*, by Commission from *Ormond*, authoriz’d
 ‘thereunto by *Charles Stuart*, eldest Son to the
 ‘late King, into whose Service and Protection
 ‘they were taken, by a Treaty mention’d in the
 ‘said Commission itself of the said *Ormond*’s, here-
 ‘with printed.

‘This is that Army which, while it was under
 ‘the Conduct of *Owen Roe* the last Year, did oc-
 ‘casion some Jealousies and Reproaches upon the
 ‘Proceedings of this present Parliament, as if they
 ‘had been taken into their Service; and that such
 ‘bloody Rebels should have been made Use of
 ‘against the Protestant Party of *English* and *Scots*,
 ‘then under the Command of *Ormond* and *Mon-*

‘*roe*,

‘*roe*, that had declared themselves against the Parliament of *England*, as *Se&taries*, and Murderers of the late King: And great Use was made thereof by Ministers and others, not affected to this present Government, to alienate the Minds of Men from their Duty to this Parliament, and foment new Distractions and Divisions amongst us: But as we did then, in the Sight of God and Sincerity of our Hearts, vindicate our Innocency in reference to any such Designs, as by the Votes we then passed doth appear; so the vigorous and constant Opposition all along maintained against them, and the thorough Execution now done by our Forces upon them, gives an undeniable Evidence of our Clearness therein, and leaves to future Ages the Marks of our just Indignation against them.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
July.

‘ This Army, provided of this General, about the End of *May* last, fell down into Sir *Charles Coot*’s Quarters, and presently took by Storm a Place upon the Frontier of *Ulster*, called *Dungenven*, where they put all to the Sword, except the Governor, whom they sent dangerously wounded to *Charlemont*; from thence they marched to *Bally Castle*, which was presently surrendered to them without any Opposition, by the Treachery of some therein.

‘ These Successes exceedingly puff’d up the Rebels, and made them considerable, not in their own Eyes only, but to the Judgment of *Ormond*, *Glanrickard*, and the rest of their Party, who therefore advise their General, by all Means, to keep off from putting Things to the Hazard of a Battle; having Hopes, upon this Foundation, and by the well managing of this so well begun Success, to recover again, not only their late Interest in, but the whole Dominion of *Ireland*; for tho’ the Army, in effective Force, did not consist of above 600 Horse and 4000 Foot, yet they were reckoned fourteen Regiments of Foot, and had Officers of all Degrees proportionable to that Number; which, by their Interest in the Coun-

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

try as aforesaid, and by the Countenance of these
 successful Beginnings, they might reasonably pro-
 mise themselves; and by them upon the Place it
 is believed, that within a very few Days they
 would have gathered in a Force of Soldiers an-
 swerable to those Officers.

In the mean Time, all the Force that the
 Lord-President of *Connaught* could draw into the
 Field to resist this powerful Inroad, (leaving the
 Garrisons tolerably provided for) was but 1800
 Foot and 600 Horse, whereof 1000 Foot came
 up to him under Col. *Fenwick*, but three Days
 before he engaged the Enemy: But *England* may
 say, as well as *Israel*, *It is as easy with the Lord*
to save with few as with many; who was pleased
 to put such Zeal and Courage into the Soldiers of
 the Parliament, that, on the 21st of *June* last,
 they marched up towards this Army (so exceed-
 ing them in Number, and heightened in Resolu-
 tion by late Successes) as it lay encamp'd near
Letterkenny, upon the Side of a Mountain, in-
 accessible either for Horse or Foot; upon Sight
 of which the Enemy drew forth upon a Piece of
 Ground (being indeed inticed thereunto by the
 giving-back of some of our Forlorn-Hope, or-
 dered for that Purpose so to do) and though that
 Ground was extremely bad, yet it pleased God
 to put it into the Hearts of our Forces, with that
 small Body to advance towards them, where they
 presently engaged them; and, by the wonderful
 Blessing of God, after an Hour's hot Dispute,
 even to Push of Pike, with great Resolution on
 both Sides, the Enemy was totally routed, many
 of them killed upon the Place, and the Execu-
 tion pursued ten or eleven Miles every Way that
 Night; so as the Number computed to be slain
 that Day in the Pursuit, and the next Day, was
 3000 at the least; in which Action were slain
 and taken Prisoners most of their Officers, from
 the highest to the lowest, few escaping; and
 many of the Heads of the principal Septs or Fa-
 milies in that Country, of the old *Irish* Rebels;
 some

‘ some of whom are since executed, and their
‘ Heads set upon the Walls of *Londonderry* for
‘ the Terror of others, and as Monuments of
‘ God’s Goodness in their Overthrow; the most
‘ considerable of all which, so far as they were
‘ then discovered and known, are set forth in a
‘ List herewith printed.

Inter-regnum,
1650.
July.

‘ There were also taken in that glorious Day,
‘ all their Arms, Ammunition, Colours, Bag and
‘ Baggage, and most of their Horse; and though
‘ their General the Bishop got off with a Party,
‘ yet he was met with (so sure doth Divine Justice
‘ pursue, and overtake the Men of Blood) and
‘ taken by Major *King* and his Troops, near *Innis-*
‘ *killing*, whose Head was also sent for by Sir
‘ *Charles Coote*², to accompany the rest of his
‘ wicked Accomplices at *Derry*.

‘ In this Day of *Ulster*’s Danger and Distress, it
‘ might reasonably have been expected that the
‘ *Scots* (who, notwithstanding their general Defec-
‘ tion from the Parliament to the contrary Party
‘ the last Year, had yet enjoyed Peace and Pro-
‘ tection from us) would have come out against
‘ this perfectly Popish Army, to the Help of the Lord
‘ against the Mighty; but such was their Ingrati-
‘ tude, and so great their Hatred to them whom
‘ they term Sectaries, above what they bear to the
‘ worst of Papists and the most bloody Rebels, as
‘ that they sat neutral all the while, as reserving
‘ themselves to declare and fall in with the Con-
‘ queror, which they also did accordingly.

‘ In all this Business the Loss on our Side was
‘ very small, so mercifully did the Lord cover the

T 3

‘ Heads

* In Lord *Clarendon*’s Vindication of *James Duke of Ormond*,
(printed Anno 1736) we find a particular Narrative of this Engage-
ment, together with the first Rise and Character of this Bishop of
Cloyber; who, as the Noble Historian affirms, was hang’d by Sir
Charles Coote’s Order, with all the Circumstances of Contumely,
Reproach, and Cruelty he could devise, tho’, upon being taken Pri-
soner, he was promised fair Quarter. But Mr. *Whitlocke* writes,
That the Bishop died of his Wounds, a few Hours after he was
taken Prisoner; and that some of the *Irish* Officers confess’d, That
if the Parliament’s Forces had been defeated, the Bishop intended
to have drawn his Army into *Scotland*, to promote the King’s De-
signs there,

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘ *Heads of his Servants in the Day of Battle ; so*
 ‘ *as only Capt. Sloper of Col. Venable’s Regiment,*
 ‘ *with 11 or 12 private Soldiers, were slain ; and*
 ‘ *Col. Fenwick, Major Gore, Capt. Gore, and an*
 ‘ *Ensign, with some few others, wounded : And*
 ‘ *it is a Thing most worthy Observation, That*
 ‘ *those who first began the Rebellion in that ve-*
 ‘ *ry Country of Ulster, and where they executed*
 ‘ *most Cruelty and Inhumanity, should be reserv’d*
 ‘ *for God’s Vengeance to be pour’d out upon them*
 ‘ *in that Place ; so that we may justly say, Who is*
 ‘ *a God like our God, our Enemies themselves being*
 ‘ *Judges ! To him alone therefore be the Praise*
 ‘ *and the Glory.*

‘ Nor was this great Mercy more wonderful
 ‘ than seasonable, in regard of the Terms wherein
 ‘ we stand to *Scotland*, and the Necessity of our
 ‘ Army’s marching thither, amongst other Things,
 ‘ for pursuing the Head of this Army of Popish
 ‘ and *Irish* Rebels, *Charles Stuart*, eldest Son of
 ‘ the late King ; who being beaten out from his
 ‘ Confidences and Intimacies with the Popish Ar-
 ‘ my in *Ireland*, by the wonderful Success which
 ‘ God hath been pleased to give our Army this
 ‘ Year and the last, hath now no other Refuge
 ‘ left him but *Scotland*, where his Hopes are (*Mon-*
 ‘ *trose* having also run out his Course, upon whose
 ‘ Assistance it is known he most affectionately de-
 ‘ pended^b) to do that by Stratagem and Deceit
 ‘ with the Reformed Party, which he could not
 ‘ carry on by Force and Power, by Means of the
 ‘ Popish

^b In the latter End of *April* this Year the Marquis of *Montrose* landed in *Scotland*, and raised Forces for the King ; but being defeated and taken Prisoner by a Party of Covenanters, he was sentenced by the *Scots* Parliament, in *May* following, to be hang’d at *Edinburgh* on a Gallows 30 Feet high, and afterwards quarter’d ; which was executed accordingly, with all possible Circumstances of Insolence and Barbarity, notwithstanding he had the King’s Commission, and they were at that very Time treating with his Majesty as to the Conditions on which he was to be restored to that Crown. On the 12th of *June* the King set Sail under a *Dutch* Convoy for *Scotland*, and arrived on that Coast the 23d ; but was compell’d to promise to take the Covenant before they would permit him to come on Shore. On the 15th of *July* he was solemnly proclaimed at *Edinburgh* Cross.

* Popish Rebels and purely Malignant Party; and
 * thinks now, under the fair Vizard of Reforma-
 * tion and the Covenant, (which he hath swal-
 * lowed like ill-pleasing Physic for a desperate
 * Cure) to raise up a Party for himself in this Na-
 * tion also, for the rooting up this present Govern-
 * ment, and with it the *English* Liberty, purchased
 * at so high a Rate, and whatever else is near and
 * dear to honest and good Men: But the same
 * God, who is mighty in Strength, and also wise
 * in Heart, and having shewn himself in Power to
 * subdue open Enemies, will not suffer his Arm to
 * be shortened, in his going forth against Hypo-
 * crites and false Friends; that he in all may be
 * glorified, and his Praise spread abroad throughout
 * the whole Earth.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

* UPON Consideration of all which, together
 * with the Taking of *Trecroghan* about the same
 * Time, and other prosperous Proceedings of our
 * Forces in *Ireland*, the Parliament, for Manifes-
 * tation of their high and extraordinary Sense of so
 * signal and seasonable Mercies, have thought it
 * fit, and their Duty, to set a-part a Time for pub-
 * lic and solemn Thanksgiving to be rendered to
 * the Lord, the Author of these Mercies: And they
 * do therefore enact and ordain, That *Friday* the
 * 26th of *July* be observed and kept as a Day of
 * public and holy Rejoicing and Thanksgiving to
 * the Lord in all the Churches and Chapels, and
 * Places of Divine Worship, within this Common-
 * wealth of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and
 * Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and that the Mi-
 * nisters of the respective Parishes and Places afore-
 * said be, and hereby they are, required and en-
 * joined to give Notice on the Lord's Day next pre-
 * ceding the said 26th of *July*, of the Day so to be
 * observed, to the end the People of their several
 * Congregations may the more generally and dili-
 * gently attend the public Exercises of God's Wor-
 * ship and Service there to be dispensed upon that
 * Ocaasion; at which Time, that the People may
 * be

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘ be the more particularly and fully inform’d of this
 ‘ great Deliverance and Success, the said Ministers
 ‘ are hereby required and (under the Penalty set
 ‘ down in the Resolves of Parliament of the 9th
 ‘ of July, 1649) enjoined to publish and read this
 ‘ present Act and Declaration^d. And, for the bet-
 ‘ ter Observation of the Day, the Parliament doth
 ‘ hereby inhibit and forbid the Holding or Use of
 ‘ all Fairs, Markets, and servile Works of Men’s
 ‘ ordinary Callings on that Day: And all Mayors,
 ‘ Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and
 ‘ other Officers, are hereby enjoined, to take espe-
 ‘ cial Care of the due Observance of the said Day
 ‘ of Thanksgiving accordingly.

By a List annex’d to this Declaration and Nar-
 rative it appears, that besides the Bishop of *Clogher*,
 the Commander in Chief, there were taken Prison-
 ers two Lieutenant-Colonels, and one Quarter-
 master-General; and amongst those kill’d in the
 Action and Pursuit were the Lord of *Eniskillen*,
 the Bishop of *Down*, one Major-General, five
 Colonels, four Lieutenant-Colonels, two Adjutants
 General, four Majors, five Captains of Horse,
 and fifteen Captains of Foot, whose Names are put
 down, but unnecessary to be repeated here; to-
 gether with several other Field Officers, Captains,
 Lieutenants, Ensigns, three Priests and Friars,
 Names unknown, 3000 private Soldiers, with all
 their Ammunition, Colours, Arms, Bag, and Bag-
 gage.

Then follows a Copy of the Commission under
 the Hand and Seal of the Marquis of *Ormond* to
 the Bishop of *Clogher*, the Original whereof was
 taken, and sent over to the Parliament.

JAMES

^d By these Resolutions, (which are given at large in this Vo-
 lume, p. 154) such of the Clergy as neglected to publish the several
 Acts and Orders of Parliament, were declared to be Delinquents;
 and accordingly Mr. *Jenkins*, Minister of *Christ’s Church, London*,
 having refused to observe a Fast-Day appointed by Order of the
 House, he was, about this Time, sequestered from his Benefice,
 banished twenty Miles from *London*, and suspended from Preaching
 for the future.

JAMES Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ormond and Offory, Viscount Thurles, Lord Baron of Ardclo, Lord-Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
July.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved Bishop
EVER MACMAHON.

ORMOND.

WHereas upon the Treaty with General Owen O'Neil, deceas'd, it was, amongst other Particulars, concluded and agreed upon, That in case of the Death or Removal of him, such other General, or Commander in Chief, should be authorised by Commission from us, to command his Majesty's Forces of the Province of Ulster, Natives of the Kingdom, as should be, by general Consent of the Gentry of that Province, elected and made Choice of for the same: And whereas, in a general Meeting, lately held by the said Gentry for that Purpose, it was agreed upon, and so represented unto us, that you should exercise that Command over the said Forces; we therefore, upon Consideration thereof, and of the Care, Judgment, Valour, and Experience in Martial Affairs, as also of the Readiness and good Affections of you to do his Majesty good and acceptable Services, have nominated and appointed, and we do hereby nominate and appoint, you the said Bishop Ever MacMahon, to be General of all his Majesty's said Forces of Horse and Foot of the Province of Ulster, Natives of the Kingdom; giving hereby unto you the said Bishop Ever MacMahon full Power and Authority to take the said Charge and Employment upon you, and the said Forces, and every of them, to lead and command, according to the Use and Discipline of War, and such further Orders and Instructions as you shall, from Time to Time, receive from us, or other his Majesty's Chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the Time being in that Behalf; willing, and hereby requiring all the Officers, Troopers, and Soldiers

The Marquis of Ormond's Commission to the Bishop of Clogher.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

diers of the said Forces, to obey you as their General, and to be at and perform your Commands, as they shall issue unto them upon all Occasions of his Majesty's Service, as they will answer the contrary.

In witness whereof we have sign'd this your Commission, and caused our Seal of Arms to be thereunto affix'd, at *Loughbreogh*, the first Day of *April*, 1650.

Thus much for the Affairs of *Ireland*, at this Time.

The Parliament were now so intent upon prosecuting their Expedition into *Scotland*, that on the 29th of *June*, only three Days after *Cromwell's* being appointed Captain-General of the Army, he set forward from *London* towards the North. When he arrived at *York*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs attended on him, and invited him and his Officers to Dinner, where they were highly caref'd. At *Durham* Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*, Governor of *Newcastle*, with Col. *Pride*, and other Officers, met him, and attended him to that Town, where he arrived on the 15th of *July*. During his Stay there, a Fast was kept to implore God's Blessing upon the Army's Undertaking, and a Declaration agreed on to be dispersed in their march; which, being sent up to the Parliament on the 19th, was by them ordered to be forthwith printed and published in *hæc Verba*^b:

A DECLARATION of the ARMY of England upon their March into Scotland.

To all that are Saints, and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect, in Scotland,

A Declaration of the English Army, address'd to the Elect Saints of Scotland, upon their march into that Kingdom.

WE the Army of England do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, wish like Mercy and Truth, Light and Liberty with ourselves, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. Although we have no Cause to doubt but that the Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth

^b From the original Edition, printed by *Edward Husband* and *John Field*, Printers to the Parliament of England, July 19, 1650.

Commonwealth of *England*, bearing Date the 26th of *June* last, and published to manifest to the World the Justice and Necessity of sending their Army into *Scotland*, may satisfy all impartial and disinterested Men in all the Nations round about us, (the Matters of Fact therein contained being true, and the Conclusions made from thence, and the Resolutions thereupon taken, agreeable to the Principles of Religion, Nature, and Nations) and therefore it may seem to some, if not improper, yet superfluous, for us, their Army, to say any more; yet, however, out of our Tenderness towards you, whom we look upon as our Brethren, and our Desire to make a Distinction and Separation of you from the rest, as who, through the cunning Practises of some wicked and designing Men, byassed by particular Interests, or for want of a true and right Information and Representation of the great and wonderful Transactions wrought amongst us, and brought to pass by the meer Finger of our God, may possibly be scandalized at some late Actions in *England*; and thereby be involved in that common Cause, so much from Heaven declared against, by blasting all Persons and Parties that at any Time, in the least, under what Pretence or Disguise soever, engaged therein, and so, with them, to become Partakers of their Miseries:

We have therefore thought fit to speak to some Particulars, and that as in the Presence of the Lord, (to whose Grace, and in the Dread of whose Name, we do most humbly appeal, and who, should we come to a Day of Engagement, will be a sore Witness against us, if we utter these Things in Hypocrisy, and not out of the Bowels of Love, to persuade the Hearts and Consciences of those that are godly in *Scotland*) that so they may be withdrawn from partaking in the Sin and Punishment of Evil Doers; or that, at least, we might exonerate ourselves before God and Man, do remonstrate as followeth:

And

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

‘ And for as much as we believe many godly
 ‘ People in *Scotland* are not satisfied with the Pro-
 ‘ ceedings of this Nation, concerning the Death of
 ‘ the late King; the Rejection of his Issue; the
 ‘ Change of the Government; and several Actions
 ‘ conversant thereabout. Although it cannot be
 ‘ supposed that in this Paper we should answer all
 ‘ Objections that may be made, (these very Parti-
 ‘ culars alone requiring more Lines than we intend
 ‘ in the whole) yet we briefly say, That we were
 ‘ engaged in a War with the said King, for the
 ‘ Defence of our Religion and Liberties; and how
 ‘ many Times Propositions for a safe and well-
 ‘ grounded Peace were offered to him, and how
 ‘ often he refused to consent thereto, you well
 ‘ know; which, according to human Account,
 ‘ he might have closed with, had not the righte-
 ‘ ous God, who knoweth the deceitful Heart of
 ‘ Man, and is the Preserver of Mankind, especially
 ‘ of his People in his secret Judgment, denied him
 ‘ a Heart to assent thereto.

‘ By which Refusals he made it appear, that
 ‘ nothing less would satisfy than to have it in his
 ‘ own Power to destroy Religion and Liberties;
 ‘ the Subversion whereof he had so often attempt-
 ‘ ed: That he was a Man guilty of more innocent
 ‘ Blood in *England, Ireland, and Scotland*, even
 ‘ of those he ought to have preserved, as a Father
 ‘ his Children, than any of his Predecessors, or,
 ‘ we think, than any History mentioneth; the
 ‘ Guilt whereof he brought upon his Family by
 ‘ solemn Appeals to God: That the Son did tread
 ‘ in the Father’s Steps, and pursue his Designs, de-
 ‘ structive to Religion and Liberty: That a Party
 ‘ in Parliament, false to God and to their Trust,
 ‘ were willing, and did endeavour, to betray the
 ‘ Cause into the late King’s Hands: That a re-
 ‘ maining Number in Parliament, desiring to be true
 ‘ to God, and to the People that intrusted them,
 ‘ (out of Integrity of Heart, and fearing that the
 ‘ high Displeasure of God would fall upon them,
 ‘ if

‘ if they had not done it) did bring to Justice, and
 ‘ cause to be executed, the said King; did reject
 ‘ the Person now with you; did lay aside the House
 ‘ of Lords (an Estate not representing the People,
 ‘ nor trusted with their Liberties, yet at that Time
 ‘ very forward to give up the People’s Rights, and
 ‘ obstruct what might save them, and always apt
 ‘ enough to join with Kingly Interest against the
 ‘ People’s Liberties, whereof we wish you have not
 ‘ like sad Experience); and did, for the Good of
 ‘ the People, resolve the Government into a Com-
 ‘ monwealth.

Inter-regnum
 1650.

July.

‘ And having done all this, that they are not
 ‘ accountable to any other Nation, is sufficient to
 ‘ say to you, except it be to excite you to rejoice
 ‘ in this wonderful Work of God, and to be thank-
 ‘ ful to him for so much Deliverance as you have
 ‘ thereby, and leave the rest to the State of *Eng-
 ‘ land*, to whom it doth only and properly belong;
 ‘ who have manifested their regular Proceedings
 ‘ therein, according to the true and equitable In-
 ‘ tent of the Constitution of *England*, and the Re-
 ‘ presentors of the People in Parliament, in their
 ‘ several and respective Declarations, if they be
 ‘ looked into, to which we refer you. Besides,
 ‘ it is worthy Consideration, with how many Pro-
 ‘ vidences this Series of Action hath been bless’d,
 ‘ which would require a Volume to recount.

‘ If Treaties be urged against us, it is easy to
 ‘ say by whom they were broken, and how emi-
 ‘ nently, even by the then full Authority of the
 ‘ Parliament of *Scotland*, and the Invasion by the
 ‘ Duke of *Hamilton*; and yet that not the first
 ‘ Breach neither. And if it be said, *That hath
 ‘ been protested against, and revoked since*; we ask,
 ‘ Doth that make up the Breach, so as to challenge
 ‘ *England* still upon Agreements and Articles?
 ‘ You know, as to Right, it doth not, except you
 ‘ suppose that *England* made their Bargain so, that
 ‘ *Scotland* might break and *England* remain bound;
 ‘ whereas it is a known Law of Nations, that in
 ‘ the

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘ the Breach of the League by the one Party, the other is no longer obliged.

‘ If the Covenant be alledged against us, this may be said by us with Honesty and Clearness, Religion therein having the first Place, Civil Liberties the next, the King’s Interest and Constitution of Parliament the last, and these with Subordination one to another: The Covenant tied us to preserve Religion and Liberty, as the Ends of it, even when these were inconsistent with the Preservation of the King’s Interest and the Frame of Parliament; because when the Means and the End cannot be enjoyed both together, the End is to be preferred before the Means.

‘ Now that there was a real Inconsistency between the End and the Means, and that the lesser did fight against the greater, is your own Judgment; who, in a Book of yours, call’d *A necessary and seasonable Testimony against Toleration*, say thus of the two Houses, p. 12, *And doubtless the Lord is highly displeased with their Proceedings in the Treaty at Newport, in reference to Religion and the Covenant; concerning which they accepted of such Concessions from his Majesty, as, being acquiesced in, were dangerous and destructive to both.* Had we not then appeared against these Concessions, and likewise those of both Houses who acquiesced in them, had not Religion and Liberty both been destroyed, which now, by the Blessing of God, are preserved? And if that Action concerning the Parliament deserve a Charge, yet least of all from yourselves; who, when you saw the Parliament which sent the Duke of *Hamilton* with an Army into *England*, proceed in Ways destructive to Religion and Liberty, you countenanced and acted with those that rose up for public Safety, tho’ contrary to Acts of Parliament, and call’d a new one, excluding whom you thought fit; all which was done by Virtue of Authority from the Committee of Estates then sitting at *Edinburgh*; which indeed was no
‘ Com-

Committee, if you respect Formalities, (the Breach whereof you so often charge upon us) being constituted of such Persons as, by Act of the foregoing Parliament, had not legal Right to sit or act therein; they not having taken the Oath (for faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in them, in reference to the late Engagement against England) enjoined by that Parliament to be taken by every Member of the Committee at his first sitting, or else to have no Place or Vote therein, as is fully set down in the Commission for constituting of that Committee of Estates.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
July.

We could more particularly set forth how the Committee of Estates there sitting, according to the literal Sense of the aforementioned Commission, was broken and driven away by that Force raised and acted by you as aforesaid: But we spare, not seeking to justify our Actions by yours, but to shew, that you have done the same Things for Preservation of Religion and Liberty, which you so highly charge as Evil upon us: And therefore we further desire you seriously to consider, that the Inconsistency of our Religion and Liberties, with the King's Interest and former Constitution of Parliament, did not arise from our Jealousies or Pretences; but from the Hardness of the King's Heart, and the Backsliding of the greater Part of those that were intrusted in the Parliament, by their acquiescing in those Concessions, and endeavouring immediately to bring in the King upon them. We therefore reckon it no Breach, but a religious Keeping, of the Covenant according to the Equity thereof, when our Parliament, for Religion and Liberty's Sake, and the Interest of the People, did remove the King and Kingship. As also we assert ourselves Keepers of the Covenant, when the Competition hath been between the Form and Substance, if we have altered some Forms of the Government in part for the Substance Sake.

As for the Presbyterian, or any other Form of Church-Government, they are not by the Covenant

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

' nant to be imposed by Force; yet we do and are
 ' ready to embrace so much as doth, or shall be
 ' made appear to us to be according to the Word
 ' of God. Are we to be dealt with as Enemies,
 ' because we come not to your Way? Is all Re-
 ' ligion wrapt up in that or any one Form? Doth
 ' that Name, or Thing, give the Difference be-
 ' tween those that are the Members of Christ,
 ' and those that are not? We think not so. We
 ' say, Faith working by Love is the true Cha-
 ' racter of a Christian; and, God is our Wit-
 ' ness, in whomsoever we see any Thing of
 ' Christ to be, there we reckon our Duty to love,
 ' waiting for a more plentiful Effusion of the Spirit
 ' of God to make all those Christians, who, by
 ' the Malice of the World, are diversified, and,
 ' by their own Carnal-mindedness, do diversify
 ' themselves by several Names of Reproach, to be
 ' of one Heart and one Mind, worshipping God
 ' with one Consent. We are desirous that those
 ' who are for the Presbyterian Government, should
 ' have all Freedom to enjoy it; and are persuaded,
 ' that if it be so much of God, as some affirm, if
 ' God be trusted with his own Means, which is
 ' his Word powerfully and effectually preached,
 ' without a too-busy meddling with, or engaging,
 ' the Authorities of the World, it is able to ac-
 ' complish his good Pleasure upon the Minds of
 ' Men, to produce and establish his Purposes in
 ' the World, concerning the Government of his
 ' Church.

' And as for the Blasphemies and Heresies
 ' wherewith some Statists among you have labour-
 ' ed to brand us, we can say, That we do own
 ' those sound Grounds and Principles of the Chri-
 ' stian Religion, preached and held by the Gene-
 ' rality of godly Ministers and Christians of these
 ' later Times; abhorring from our Hearts, and
 ' being ready to bear our Witness against, any de-
 ' testable Blasphemies and Heresies lately broken
 ' out amongst us. We have already punished
 ' some amongst us for Blasphemy, and are further
 ' ready

ready to do it; but how uningenuously we have been dealt with by some amongst you, and of our own Countrymen, in heaping Calumnies upon our Heads, to render us vile and odious to our Brethren, yea and the whole World, we leave to God to judge, who will, we trust, in due Time, make these Things manifest. But were Presbytery thus to be contended for, and that in upholding it all Religion did and would flourish; yet how improbable it is, that the Course taken by those in Authority with you will produce the Things you desire, to say no more, let your own Experiences a little mind you.

Inter-regnum,
1650.
July.

What Pretenders were some Lords and other Persons in the North of *Ireland*, whilst they mingled the Presbyterian with the Kingly Interest; and the Ministers, by their Preaching, seduced the People from their Obedience to *England*, under the same Pretence: But no sooner had those Persons got the Power into their own Hands, but they shook off the Ministers by Threatenings, causing some of them to quit the Country, and, in general, discouraging the Exercise of the Government there; declaring plainly by their Actions, that it was but a Device to draw on the Royal Interest; and those very Persons that did get Power into their Hands under those Pretences, immediately joined with *Owen Roe O'Neal*, and those bloody *Irish* Rebels upon the Kingly Interest.

It will not be unfit to mind you also, how the Nobility and some of the Ministers of *Scotland*, preaching and crying up a War against *England*, under Pretence of the Covenant, did thereby lay a Foundation to the Duke of *Hamilton's* getting the Command of that Army; who, over-numbing them in Parliament, Power, and Friends, and by the Advantage of Malignants, thrust all that you could call the good Party out of Power and Authority; himself getting the Command of that Army into *England*, and leaving his Brother and other Kindred in Power in *Scotland*.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘ Thus, upon the same Ground and Pretence to
 ‘ carry on the Kingly Interest, have you been twice
 ‘ deceived ; and now he is brought in among you,
 ‘ who hath turned every Stone, and tried all Friends
 ‘ and Allies in foreign Parts ; endeavoured Com-
 ‘ motions at home by his wicked and malignant
 ‘ Instruments ; commissioned *Rupert*, the *French*,
 ‘ and all that piratical Generation, who do spoil,
 ‘ take, plunder, and destroy our Ships and Trade
 ‘ at Sea, and all to the end he might destroy the
 ‘ People of God, and the Peace of the three Na-
 ‘ tions : And now being, by his Mother and the
 ‘ Popish Interests abroad, counselled thereto, hath
 ‘ made a Compliance with you, as his last Refuge ;
 ‘ who, even whilst he was treating with you, had
 ‘ his Heart set upon *Montrose* and his Accomplices,
 ‘ (writing Letters, and sending particular Orders
 ‘ to him) and upon his Popish Army in *Ireland*, to
 ‘ whom he had given Commissions, and whom he
 ‘ still owned as his faithful Subjects, notwithstand-
 ‘ ing all the innocent Blood by them shed ; and
 ‘ would never be induced to comply, or close with
 ‘ the Covenant and Presbytery, till utterly disap-
 ‘ pointed of all those his Malignant and Popish
 ‘ Hopes and Confidences.

‘ Is there not now just Cause for all good Men
 ‘ with you to fear that one so bred, so engaged and
 ‘ interested, and meerly in such a Way coming
 ‘ in to you, doth but watch his Opportunity (to
 ‘ speak nothing of the Weight of the Blood of
 ‘ Saints under the Altar, crying still for Vengeance
 ‘ upon him and that Family) till by his Influence
 ‘ upon your Army, which you know how com-
 ‘ posed, he may gain his Ends upon you ; and how
 ‘ likewise the Generality of the People of *Scotland*
 ‘ are affected, is not unworthy of your most serious
 ‘ Consideration, nor of a friendly Intimation from
 ‘ us.

‘ But that which most awakens us is, That not-
 ‘ withstanding all this, and all the Wrongs done to
 ‘ *England* from *Scotland*, they refuse to do us Right ;
 ‘ so that what Wrongs soever we have, or shall
 ‘ sustain,

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘ sustain, must be without Remedy, and we also with-
 ‘ out Security for the future, as is sufficiently expo-
 ‘ stulated in the Parliament of *England*’s Declaration
 ‘ aforementioned; and the Seeds laid of a perpet-
 ‘ tual War, by taking our grand Enemy into your
 ‘ Bosoms, and your Engagement to him, in the
 ‘ late Treaty with him, to restore him to the Pos-
 ‘ session of *England* and *Ireland*; and therefore
 ‘ we call Heaven and Earth to witness, whether or
 ‘ no we have not Cause to defend ourselves, by hin-
 ‘ dering the present Power of *Scotland* from ta-
 ‘ king their Time and Advantage to impose thus
 ‘ upon us: And whether they have now any just
 ‘ Reason to wonder at the Approach of an Army
 ‘ to their Borders, and the taking some of their
 ‘ Ships by ours; yea, whether our coming into
 ‘ *Scotland* with an Army, upon so clear a Ground,
 ‘ be any other than a just and necessary Defence
 ‘ of ourselves, for Preservation of those Rights
 ‘ and Liberties which Divine Providence hath, thro’
 ‘ the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure,
 ‘ given us; and those amongst you have engaged
 ‘ they will, if they can, wrest from us; unless it
 ‘ must be taken for granted that the Parliament
 ‘ of *England* ought to sit still and be silent whilst
 ‘ their Ruin is contrived, their Friends and Bre-
 ‘ thren destroyed by Sea and Land, whom in Con-
 ‘ science and Duty, both before God and Man,
 ‘ they ought to preserve.

‘ And now we come to speak to all those who
 ‘ are within the Compass of the Title of this De-
 ‘ claration; that we undertake this Business in the
 ‘ Fear of God, with Bowels full of Love, yea,
 ‘ full of Pity, to the Inhabitants of the Country;
 ‘ and if it shall please God to make *Scotland* sen-
 ‘ sible of the Wrongs done to us, and to give to
 ‘ the Commonwealth of *England* a satisfying Se-
 ‘ curity against future Injuries, we shall rejoice;
 ‘ but if that may not be obtain’d, we shall desire
 ‘ such as fear God not to join or have to do with
 ‘ those who are the Authors and Actors of so much
 ‘ Evil and Mischief against their Neighbours: And

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

we dare say, to the Praise of God, that that which moves us to this great Undertaking, is not any Reliance upon the Arm of Flesh, or being lifted up with the Remembrance of former Successes, or the Desire of accomplishing any Designs of our own that we have forelaid; but the full Assurance we have that our Cause is just and righteous in the Sight of God; looking at all precedent Changes, and the Successes that have produced them, not as the Work of the Policy or Strength of Man, but as the eminent Actings of the Providence and Power of God to bring forth his Goodwill and Pleasure, concerning the Things which he hath determined in the World. And we are confident, that as he hath hitherto gloriously appeared, so he will still, bearing witness to the Righteousness of this Cause, in great Mercy and Pity of the Infirmities and Failings of us his poor Creatures: And we do most humbly implore his divine Majesty to give a merciful Testimony, whether the Actings of divers Men amongst you have not proceeded from worldly Interests, together with the Rancour and Bitterness of their Spirits, who, we fear, thro' Envy at Instruments, have refused to acknowledge his Hand and Goodness in the Accomplishment of these great Changes; and whether ours have not come from the Simplicity of our and other his poor Servants Hearts; who, we trust, have desired, though in the Midst of manifold Weaknesses, to follow him in Integrity, through difficult Paths, having nothing but Danger and Ruin appearing to the Flesh, and little to encourage us, saving those signal Manifestations of his Presence in those high Acts of his Providence, and the Fear of his Name, lest he going before, we should not follow.

And this we can further add, That nothing is so predominant within us (next to our Duty to God, nor to betray a Cause to which he hath so much witnessed) as the Love we have towards those that fear God there, who may possibly suffer

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

‘fer through their own Mistakes, or our Disability to distinguish in a common Calamity; of which Christian Love we hope we gave some Proof and Testimony when we were last in Scotland with this Army, and were by God made instrumental to break the Power of those that then oppressed the godly Party there, and were then ready, at their Desire, to do every Thing on their Behalf which might put them into the Seat of Authority and Power; whose Consciences know this is true, and for which this late Act of Engagement to their new King against England, is no good Requital; nor their heaping on us the Reproach of a Sectarian Army, a Christian Dealing: All which we do with Comfort commend to God, and can, notwithstanding all this, say, By the Grace of God, we can forgive and forget those Things, and can and do desire of God that the Precious in Scotland may be separated from the Vile; which is the End of this our Paper. And to the Truth of this let the God of Heaven, in his great Mercy pardoning our Weaknesses, judge of us when we come to meet our Enemies in the Field, if, through the Perverseness of any in Authority with you, God shall please to order the Decision of this Controversy by the Sword; which we, from our Hearts, beseech the Lord to avert, and to give you the like Christian and Brotherly Affection towards us, which we, by God’s Grace, bear towards you.

Sign’d in the Name, and by the Appointment, of his Excellency the Lord-General Cromwell and his Council of Officers.

JO. RUSHWORTH, *Secretary.*

Besides the foregoing Declaration of the Army, To all that are Saints, and Partakers of the Faith of God’s Elect, another was published by Cromwell, on his Arrival at Berwick; which was also reprinted at London on the 23d of this Month, by Order of Parliament, and therefore requires a Place in this Work. It was addressed thus:

Inter-regnum.

1650.

July.

Another to the
People of *Scot-*
land in general.*To the People of SCOTLAND.*

‘ **W** Hereas the Army under my Conduct, by
 ‘ the Authority of the Parliament of the
 ‘ Commonwealth of *England*, is to advance into
 ‘ *Scotland*, upon the Grounds, and for the Ends,
 ‘ expressed in their Declaration of *June 26, 1650*:
 ‘ And considering the several Ways and Practices
 ‘ of some in that Kingdom, whose Design it hath
 ‘ been, and still is, by all Manner of groundless
 ‘ and unjust Reproaches, and most false Slanders,
 ‘ to make the Army odious, and to render us unto
 ‘ the People as such that are to be abhorred of all
 ‘ pious, peaceable, and sober Spirits, and to be
 ‘ rather Monsters than Men.

‘ We think fit therefore, for the clearing of our-
 ‘ selves, to remind you of our former Deportment
 ‘ and Behaviour; when, about two Years since,
 ‘ we entered into the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and
 ‘ then carried in by the Hand of Divine Provi-
 ‘ dence, and through the earnest Invitation of those
 ‘ now in present Authority and Power with you,
 ‘ What Injury or Wrong did we then do, either
 ‘ to the Persons, Houses, or Goods of any? *Whose*
 ‘ *Ox have we taken?* Did we seek any Thing for
 ‘ ourselves? Did we other than preserve the Best-
 ‘ affected from their and our most desperate Ene-
 ‘ mies? And having established our Inviters in their
 ‘ Power, without doing the least Violence to any,
 ‘ we returned to our own Nation. And, consi-
 ‘ dering this, we have Cause to hope that those for-
 ‘ mer Carriages of ours are not so soon forgotten,
 ‘ and that the present Misreports of what our
 ‘ Dealings will be, shall not disturb nor affright
 ‘ the People from their Houses and Dwellings.

‘ And for Satisfaction of all those that are Lo-
 ‘ vers of Religion, Peace, and public Liberty; and
 ‘ being desirous to put a Difference between the In-
 ‘ nocent and the Guilty, we do hereby declare, in
 ‘ the Integrity of our Hearts, That, as to the Gen-
 ‘ try and Commonalty of the Nation of *Scotland*,
 ‘ whose Habitations are in those Places whither the
 ‘ Army,

‘ Army, by the Providence of God, may come ; Inter-regnum.
 ‘ as we know full well they are not the Persons, 1650.
 ‘ who, by their Councils and Undertakings, have {
 ‘ laid the certain Foundation of a second unrighteous and unjust Invasion of *England*, by closing July.
 ‘ with, and entertaining of, him who stirs up, and
 ‘ labours to engage, many foreign Princes to invade
 ‘ the Commonwealth of *England*; and hath exercised actual Hostility against the Nation, by destroying the People, and commissionating Pirates to kill our Men, and to rob, spoil, and take away our Ships and Goods by Sea, to the Ruin of *England*, so much as in him lies; nor of those who have refused so much as a Treaty with the Commonwealth of *England*, wherein only a just and equal Satisfaction for past Injuries was aimed at, and a Security for a firm Peace between the two Nations desired: Which Denial, and other Practices, hath put us upon this unavoidable Necessity of entering into *Scotland*, unless we would have stood still, and seen not only the Destruction of the Godly and Well-affected, but also of the very Power of Godliness and Holiness in both Nations: So we shall not (the Lord continuing his Goodness and Presence to us) offer the least Violence and Injury to the Persons, Goods, or Possessions of any of them; but strive and labour to our utmost to prevent all Disorders that happen from an Army, and to give all speedy Redress and Satisfaction that possibly may be, when any just Complaint of Miscarriage shall be made.

‘ And upon the Confidence of these our sincere and honest Intentions, (which we hope our good and gracious God will enable us to perform) we do hereby invite all such Persons to stay and abide in their own Houses and Habitations, where they may and shall enjoy what they have in Peace; and not to suffer themselves to be misled by the Craft and Subtilty of any, into that which must needs prove their inevitable Loss and Ruin, and a great Hazard to their Country.

‘ How-

Inter-regnum.
1650.

July.

‘ Howsoever we have done this as our Duty to
‘ God, and for Satisfaction to all good Men.*Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment, of
his Excellency the Lord-General Cromwell and
his Council of Officers,*

J. RUSHWORTH, Sec.

July 24. Sir Henry Mildmay reported from the Council of State, That it was their Opinion, in regard of the many Designs now on Foot, if any Insurrections should happen, the Public Peace would be much the more endangered, by Occasion of the late King’s Children remaining here, who may be made Use of to the Prejudice of the Public; which they left to the Consideration of the House to provide such Remedy therein as to their Wisdoms shall seem meet.

The Parliament
resolve to send
Prince Henry and
Princess *Eliza-
beth* out of Eng-
land.

On which, after some Debate, it was *resolved*, ‘ That *Henry Stuart*, third Son to the late King, and the Lady *Elizabeth* his Daughter, should be removed forthwith beyond the Seas, out of the Limits of this Commonwealth.’ And that it be left to the Council of State to consider of a fit Place to remove them to, the Manner of sending them thither, and of a fit Maintenance for their Support, during the Pleasure of Parliament.

They pass an Act
for obliging Sher-
iffs to disperse
the Orders, &c.
of the House,

We have already taken Notice that some Presbyterian Ministers had neglected or refused to publish the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, since the King was beheaded and the House of Lords set aside, which gave Occasion to the foregoing Resolutions touching the Clergy^a: And the House being informed that several Sheriffs of Counties had been equally regardless of their Votes and Orders, they found it necessary to pass an Act this Month, requiring all Sheriffs to appoint Deputies to receive and transmit the Acts, Orders, and Directions of the Parliament and Council of State, and to make Returns thereof, as they should be enjoined by either of those Authorities.

August^a At p. 154, in this Volume.

August 1. This Month begins with another Report made to the House from the Council of State, That they had Intelligence from some who were in Custody, and other concurrent Testimonies, of a Design ready to break out, which would have been of imminent Danger to the Parliament, and all that adhere to them, if not timely prevented, many being engaged therein; and the Discovery made by such as were in the Design: That the Council, thereupon, had ordered all the Houses to be seiz'd, in the City and Parts adjacent, to prevent Use to be made of them by those who were concerned in this Business; which, as they were informed, was near breaking out, but, as they hoped, might now be broken. The House approved of all the Council had done in the Affair, but we hear no more of it.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

The next Day, *Aug. 2*, an Act passed the House, And another for-
inhibiting all Trade, Traffic or Intercourse with bidding all Inter-
Scotland, and for enjoining the Departure of all course with *Scot-*
Scotsmen out of the Commonwealth; which was land.
ordered to be forthwith printed and published, and proclaimed by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet.

The House now proceeded on Ways and Means *Ways and Means*
for raising Monies for the constant Payment of of raising Sup-
their numerous Armies in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; plies.
in which, amongst others, deep Search was made
after Delinquents Estates, though they had raked
into them, seemingly, as far as they could be-
fore. A Committee was appointed to consider
of the Names of more Delinquents for their Estates
to be sold; and that the Estates of so many of
them be put to Sale, as may be sufficient Security
for the Loan of 200,000 *l.* and a Bill was ordered
to be brought in for that Purpose, and also for rais-
ing Money on Deans and Chapters Lands.

But as Supplies of this Sort must have an End,
and the Extending of Commerce is the only ef-
fectual Fund for enabling the Subject to pay
Taxes, an Act was passed, about this Time, for
the

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

the Advancing and Regulating the Trade of the Commonwealth.

Hitherto we have given an Abstract of the most material Acts passed by this Remnant of a Parliament, nor does that now before us deserve less Notice: For these Laws, though made by Usurpers of the Legislative Authority, may probably furnish many useful Hints for Reformation and Improvement under a lawful Government. And, in fact, several Statutes enacted since the Restoration, have taken their Rise from such as were made during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The Preamble to the last-mention'd Act runs thus:

An Act appoint-
ing Commission-
ers to consider of
Methods for the
Advancement of
Trade.

' The Parliament of *England* taking into their
' Care the Maintenance and Advance of the Traf-
' fic, Trade, and several Manufactures of this Na-
' tion; and being desirous to improve and multiply
' the same for the best Advantage and Benefit
' thereof; to the end that the poor People of this
' Land may be set on Work, and their Families
' preserved from Beggary and Ruin; that the Com-
' monwealth might be enriched thereby, and no
' Occasion left either for Idleness or Poverty: And
' duly weighing that the Trade of this Nation,
' both at home and abroad, being rightly driven
' and regularly managed, doth exceedingly con-
' duce to the Strength, Wealth, Honour, and Pro-
' sperity thereof; and, on the contrary, that the
' negligent, irregular, and defective Management
' of Trade, must necessarily prove disadvantageous
' to the several Trades in particular, and to the
' Commonwealth in general: For the preventing
' of which Mischiefs and Inconveniences, and for
' the better regulating of Trade for the future,
' &c.'

Then the Act proceeds to appoint Commis-
sioners to be a standing Council for the Regulation
of Trade, according to certain Instructions, to this
Effect:

1. ' To take Notice of all the native Commo-
' dities of *England*, or what Time or Industry may
' hereafter make native; and advise how they may
' not

‘ not only be fully manufactured, but well and
‘ truly wrought, to the Honour and Profit of the
‘ Commonwealth.

Injer-regnum.
1650.

August.

2. ‘ To consider how the Trades and Manufac-
‘ tures of this Nation may most fitly and equally
‘ be distributed; to the end one Part may not
‘ abound with Trade, and another remain poor for
‘ want of it.

3. ‘ How Trade may most conveniently be dri-
‘ ven from one Part of the Nation to another; to
‘ which Purpose they are to consider how Rivers
‘ may be made more navigable, and Ports more
‘ capable of Shipping.

4. ‘ How the Commodities of *England* may be
‘ vented, to the best Advantage, into foreign
‘ Contries, and not undervalued by ill Manage-
‘ ment; how Obstructions of Trade into foreign
‘ Parts may be removed; and how new Ways and
‘ Places may be found out for better venting of na-
‘ tive Commodities.

5. ‘ How free Ports for foreign Commodities
‘ imported (without paying of Custom, if again
‘ exported) may be appointed, and in what Man-
‘ ner the same is best to be effected.

6. ‘ To contrive that a most exact Account be
‘ kept of all Commodities imported and exported,
‘ that a perfect Balance of Trade may be taken;
‘ whereby the Commonwealth may not be impo-
‘ verished by receiving of Commodities yearly from
‘ foreign Parts, of a greater Value than what were
‘ carried out.

7. ‘ To consider the Value of the *English* Coin,
‘ and the Par thereof, in relation to the intrinsic
‘ Value which it bears in Weight and Fineness with
‘ the Coin of other Nations; also of the State of
‘ Exchange, and of the Gain or Loss that comes to
‘ the Commonwealth by the Exchange now used
‘ by Merchants.

8. ‘ To inquire what Customs, Imposts, and
‘ Excise are fit to be laid upon all Commodities,
‘ either native or imported; and how they may be
‘ best regulated, and so equally laid and managed

316 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

‘ as neither Trade may be hindered, nor the State
‘ made incapable to defray public Charges.

9. ‘ To consider whether it be necessary to give
‘ Way to a more open Trade than that of Com-
‘ panies, and in what Manner it is fittest to be
‘ done; wherein to take Care that Government
‘ and Order in Trade may be preserved, and Con-
‘ fusion avoided.

10. ‘ To inform themselves of the particular
‘ Ordinances, Grants, Patents, and Constitutions
‘ of the several Companies of Merchants and
‘ Handicrafts-Men, that, if any of them tend to
‘ the Hurt of the Public, they may be laid down.

11. ‘ To consider the great Trade of Fishing,
‘ not only upon the Coasts of *England* and *Ireland*,
‘ but likewise of *Iceland*, *Greenland*, *Newfound-*
‘ *land*, and *New-England*, or elsewhere; and to
‘ encourage Fishermen, in order to the Increase of
‘ Shipping and Mariners.

12. To advise how the *English* Plantations in
‘ *America*, or elsewhere, may be best managed; and
‘ how the Commodities thereof may be so multi-
‘ plied that those Plantations alone may supply the
‘ Commonwealth of *England* with whatsoever it
‘ necessarily wants.’

These Commissioners were impowered not only
to receive Proposals from any Persons of Experi-
ence and Ability in Matter of Trade, but had also
Authority to send for the Officers of the Exche-
quer, Mint, Customs, and Excise for their Assis-
tance; also to view all Books, Records, &c. for
their further Information; and the Result of their
Inquiries, with their Opinion thereupon, was re-
quired to be laid before the Parliament or Coun-
cil of State. A Salary of 200 *l. per Annum* was
appointed for their Secretary, and 300 *l. per Annum*
more for Clerks and other Officers, payable by the
Treasurer of the Navy; but as the Commissioners
themselves had nothing more than their incident
Charges allowed them by this Act, we may suppose
they were content with the Honour arising from
the Service of their Country.

Aug.

Aug. 6. Sir Henry Vane, jun. having reported, from the Council of State, several Letters received from the Army in Scotland, they were read, and a Committee was ordered to examine which of them were fit to be published. Among these, one from the Lord-General Cromwell himself, will be a sufficient Representation of his Proceedings, hitherto, in that Kingdom.

Inter-regnum,
1650.
August.

To the Right Honourable the LORD PRESIDENT
of the COUNCIL of STATE.

My Lord, Musselburgh, July 30, 1650.

WE marched from Berwick upon Monday, being the twenty-second Day of July, and lay at my Lord Mordington's House on Monday Night, Tuesday and Wednesday; on Thursday we march'd to Coppersteth; on Friday to Dunbar, where we got some small Pittance from our Ships, and from thence we march'd to Haddington. On the Lord's Day, hearing that the Scots Army meant to meet us at Gladsmoor, we labour'd to possess the Moor before them, and beat our Drums very early in the Morning; but when we came there no considerable Body of the Army appeared; whereupon 1400 Horse, under the Command of Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley, were sent as a Van-guard to Musselburgh, to see likewise if they could find out and attempt any Thing upon the Enemy, I marching in the Heel of them with the Residue of the Army. Our Party encountered with some of their Horse, but they could not abide us. We lay at Musselburgh encamp'd close that Night, the Enemy's Army lying between Edinburgh and Leith, about four Miles from us, intrench'd by a Line flanker'd from Edinburgh to Leith; the Guns also from Leith scouring most Parts of the Line, so that they lay very strong.

Gen. Cromwell's
Account of the
Army's Proceedings
in Scotland,

Upon Monday the 29th Inst. we were resolv'd to draw up to them, to see if they would fight with us; and when we came upon the Place we resolv'd to get our Cannon as near them as we could

Inter-regnum.

1650.

August.

could, hoping thereby to annoy them : We likewise perceiving they had some Force upon a Hill that over-looks *Edinburgh*, from whence we might be annoyed, did resolve to send up a Party to possess the said Hill, which prevailed ; but upon the whole we did find that their Army were not easily to be attempted ; whereupon we lay still all the said Day, which proved to be so sore a Day and Night of Rain, as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our Disadvantage, the Enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable. Our Soldiers did abide this Difficulty with great Courage and Resolution, hoping they should speedily come to fight. In the Morning, the Ground being very wet, and our Provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our Quarters at *Musselburgh*, there to refresh and revictual. The Enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our Rear, and put them into some little Disorder ; but our Bodies of Horse being in some Readiness, came to grapple with them, where indeed there was a gallant and hot Dispute ; the Major-General and Col. *Whalley* being in the Rear, and the Enemy drawing out great Bodies to second their first Effort, our Men charged them up to the very Trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General's Horse was shot in the Neck and Head ; himself being run thro' the Arm with a Lance, and into another Place of his Body, was taken Prisoner by the Enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant *Empson* of my Regiment. Col. *Whalley*, who was then nearest to the Major-General, did charge very resolutely, repulsed the Enemy, and kill'd divers of them upon the Place, and took some Prisoners without any considerable Loss ; which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to *Musselburgh*, but they dar'd not send out a Man to trouble us.

We hear their young King looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their Men do no better.

We

Inter-regnum
1650.

August.

‘ We came to *Musselburgh* that Night, so tired
‘ and wearied for want of Sleep, and so dirty by
‘ reason of the Wetness of the Weather, that we
‘ expected the Enemy would make an Infall upon
‘ us; which accordingly they did, between Three
‘ and Four this Morning, with fifteen Companies of
‘ their most select Troops, under the Command of
‘ Major-General *Montgomery* and *Strachan*, two
‘ Champions of the Church, upon which Business
‘ there was great Hope and Expectation laid. The
‘ Enemy came on with a great deal of Resolution,
‘ beat in our Guards, and put a Regiment of Horse
‘ in some Disorder; but our Men speedily taking
‘ the Alarm, charged the Enemy, routed them,
‘ took many Prisoners, killed a great many of them,
‘ did Execution within a Quarter of a Mile of *Edin-*
‘ *burgh*; and, as I am informed, *Strachan* was
‘ killed there, besides divers other Officers of Qua-
‘ lity. We took the Major of *Strachan*’s Regi-
‘ ment, Major *Hamilton*, a Lieutenant-Colonel,
‘ and divers other Officers and Persons of Quality,
‘ whom yet we know not. Indeed this is a sweet
‘ Beginning of your Business, or rather the Lord’s,
‘ and I believe is not very satisfactory to the Ene-
‘ my, especially to the Kirk-Party; we did not
‘ lose any in this Business, so far as I hear, but a
‘ Cornet; I do not hear of four Men more. The
‘ Major-General will, I believe, within a few Days,
‘ be well enough to take the Field; and I trust this
‘ Work, which is the Lord’s, will prosper in the
‘ Hands of his Servants.

‘ I did not think it adviseable to attempt upon
‘ the Enemy, lying as he doth; but surely it would
‘ sufficiently provoke him to fight if he had a Mind
‘ to it. I do not think he is less than 6 or 7000
‘ Horse, and 14 or 15,000 Foot. The Reason I
‘ hear that they give out to their People, why they
‘ do not fight us, is, because they expect many
‘ Bodies of Men more out of the North of *Scot-*
‘ *land*, which when they come, they give out they
‘ will then engage; but I believe they would ra-
‘ ther tempt us to attack them in their Fastnesses,
‘ within

320 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

‘ within which they are intrenched; or else, hoping we shall famish for want of Provisions, which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied. I remain,

My Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

‘ I understand, since the writing of this Letter, that Major-General *Montgomery* is slain.’

After reading the foregoing Letter, it was resolved, That all private Business be forborn for one Month; and no other Matter taken into Debate but that of raising Supplies, and other public Affairs of the Commonwealth.

We have already given the Army’s Declaration upon their March into *Scotland*, published by Order of Parliament. To this the General Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* having printed an Answer, *Cromwell* wrote them a Letter upon that Occasion; which, though not Parliamentary itself, yet as it proves the General to have been a Match for the Assembly themselves, in the Manner of handling of Scripture and applying it to his own Purposes, a Copy thereof will not be deem’d an improper Digression; and the rather, as this Letter, tho’ mention’d by Mr. *Whitlocke*, is not printed any where that we know of. It runs thus^b:

To the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the KIRK of SCOTLAND; or, in case of their not sitting, to the COMMISSIONERS of the KIRK of SCOTLAND.

S I R S, *Musselburgh, Aug. 3, 1650.*

His Letter to the General Assembly of the Kirk.

Y OUR Answer to the Declaration of the Army we have seen^c; some godly Ministers with us did, at *Berwick*, compose this Reply

^b From the original Edition, printed for *H. Allen*, in *Pope’s-Head-Alley*.

^c Printed at *Edinburgh*, July 22, 1650, by *Ewan Tyler*, and styled *A Short Reply to the Army’s Declaration*; signed *A. Kerr*.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

August.

‘ply, which I thought fit to send you^d. That
 ‘you or we, in these great Transactions, answer
 ‘the Will and Mind of God, it is only from his
 ‘Grace and Mercy to us; and therefore, having
 ‘said, as in our Papers, we commit the Issue there-
 ‘of to him who disposeth all Things; assuring you
 ‘that we have Light and Comfort increasing upon
 ‘us, Day by Day; and are persuaded that, before
 ‘it be long, the Lord will manifest his good Plea-
 ‘sure, so that all shall see him; and his People
 ‘shall say, *This is the Lord’s Work, and it is mar-
 ‘vellous in our Eyes: This is the Day that the Lord
 ‘hath made, we will be glad and rejoice therein.*

‘Only give me Leave to say, in a Word, you
 ‘take upon you to judge us in the Things of our
 ‘God, though you know us not; though in the
 ‘Things we have said unto you, in that which is
 ‘intituled *The Army’s Declaration*, we have spoken
 ‘our Hearts as in the Sight of the Lord who hath
 ‘tried us: And by your hard and subtle Words,
 ‘you have begotten Prejudice in those who do too
 ‘much (in Matters of Conscience, wherein every
 ‘Soul is to answer for itself to God) depend upon
 ‘you; so that some have already followed you to
 ‘the breathing-out of their Souls; others continue
 ‘still in the Way wherein they are led by you (we
 ‘fear) to their own Ruin: And no marvel if you
 ‘deal thus with us, when indeed you can find
 ‘in your Hearts to conceal the Papers we have sent
 ‘you from your own People, who might see and
 ‘understand the Bowels of our Affections to them,
 ‘especially such among them as fear the Lord.
 ‘Send as many of your Papers as you please amongst
 ‘ours, they have a free Passage; I fear them not:
 ‘What is of God in them, would it might be em-
 ‘braced and received.

VOL. XIX.

X

‘One

^d This Piece is intituled *A Vindication of the Army of England’s
 March into Scotland, from the uncharitable Constructions, odious Im-
 putations, and scandalous Aspersions of the General Assembly of the
 Kirk of Scotland, in their Answer.* Published by the special Ap-
 pointment of the Council of State, and printed by John Field, Au-
 gust 16, 1650.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

‘ One of them lately sent, directed *To the Under-Officers and Soldiers in the English Army*°, hath begotten from them this inclosed Answer, which they desired me to send you; not a crafty politic one, but a plain, simple, spiritual one; such as it is God knoweth, and God also will, in due Time, make manifest: And do we multiply these Things as Men, or do we them for the Lord Christ and his People’s Sake?

‘ Indeed we are not, through the Grace of God, afraid of your Numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could (I pray God you do not think we boast) meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given (humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our Hope is) some Proof that Thoughts of that Kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid his Face from us since our Approach so near unto you. Your own Guilt is too much for you to bear; bring not therefore upon yourselves the Blood of innocent Men, deceived with Pretences of *King and Covenant*, from whose Eyes you hide a better Knowledge. I am persuaded that divers of you who lead the People, have laboured to build yourselves in these Things, wherein you have censured others, and established yourselves upon the Word of God. Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God all that you say?

‘ I beseech you, in the Bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon Precept, Line may be upon Line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of Judgment, that they may fall backward and be broken, and be snared and be taken. There may be a Spiritual Fulness which the World may call Drunkenness, as in the second Chapter of the *Acts*. There may be as well a carnal Confidence upon misunderstood and misapplied Precepts, which may be called Spiritual Drunkenness.

° This Piece, with the Army’s Answer annex’d, (dated from the Leaguer at *Musfelburgh*, Aug. 1, 1650) was reprinted at London, Aug. 12, by *Husbands and Field*, and licensed by Mr. *Rusworth*.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

August.

' nefs. There may be a *Covenant made with Death*
' *and Hell* (I will not say yours was so^t); but judge
' if such Things have a politic Aim, to avoid the
' overflowing Scourge, or to accomplish worldly
' Interests; and if therein we have confederated
' with wicked and carnal Men, and have Respect
' for them, or otherwise drawn them in to associate
' with us, whether this be a Covenant of God, and
' spiritual, bethink yourselves; we hope we do.

' I pray you read the 28th of *Isaiah*, from the
' 5th to the 15th; and do not scorn to know that
' it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth Life.
' The Lord give you and us Understanding to do
' that which is well-pleasing in his Sight. Com-
' mitting you to the Grace of God, I rest

Your humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

To return to the Proceedings at *Westminster*.

Aug. 9. The Custom of the House was frequently, at this Time, to order the Door to be shut, and no Member to be suffered to go out, without Leave, 'till Twelve o'Clock; and this Day, after such an Order, the House went upon a Bill which had been some Time before them, intituled, *An Act against several atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable Opinions, derogatory to the Honour of God, and destructive to human Society, now held and propagated in this Nation*. This Bill, being read a third Time, several Clauses were offered to be added to it; some of which were taken, and others rejected; and it was ordered that the Bill, so amended, should pass. The Preamble to this Act, with an Abstract of the most material Clauses,

X 2

con-

f In *Carrington's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, (printed for Nath. Brooke in Cornhill, 1659) he styles the Covenant, 'That burning Torch which the Mother of *Paris* did see in her Frenzies, that fatal Fire which the *Scots* believe descended from Heaven, and by which they, at their Pleasure, kindled those Wars wherewith they infested England.'

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

An Act for suppressing atheistical and blasphemous Opinions in Religion.

containing the Religious History of these Times, may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

The Parliament holding it to be their Duty, by all good Ways and Means, to propagate the Gospel in this Commonwealth; to advance Religion in all Sincerity, Godliness, and Honesty, have made several Ordinances and Laws for the Good and Furtherance of Reformation, in Doctrine and Manners; and, in order to the suppressing of Profaneness, Wickedness, profane Swearing, Drunkenness, Superstition, and Formality, that God may be truly glorified, and all might in Well-doing be encouraged: But, notwithstanding this their Care, finding, to their great Grief and Astonishment, that there are divers Men and Women who have lately discovered themselves to be most monstrous in their Opinions, and loose in all wicked and abominable Practices hereafter mentioned, not only to the notorious Corrupting and Disordering, but even to the Dissolution, of all human Society; who rejecting the Use of Gospel Ordinances, do deny the Necessity of civil and moral Righteousness among Men: The Parliament therefore, according to their Declaration publish'd on the 28th of September, 1649, *to be most ready to testify their Displeasure and Abhorrence of such Offenders, by a strict and effectual proceeding against them, who should abuse and turn into Licentiousness the Liberty given in Matters of Conscience*, do therefore enact and ordain, That every Person (not distemper'd with Sickness, or distracted in Brain) who shall presume avowedly in Words to profess, or shall by Writing proceed to affirm and maintain him or herself, or any other meer Creature, to be very God; or to be infinite or almighty; or, in Honour, Excellency, Majesty, and Power, to be equal, and the same with the true God; or that the true God, or the eternal Majesty, dwells in the Creature and no where else: Or whosoever shall deny the Holiness and Righteousness of God; or shall presume to profess, that Unrighteousness in Persons, or the Acts of Uncleaness,

and

Inter-regnum.

1650.

August.

and the like Filthiness and Brutishness, are not
 unholly and forbidden in the Word of God; or
 that these Acts in any Person, or the Persons for
 committing them, are approved of by God;
 or that such Acts, or such Persons in those
 Things, are like unto God: Or shall presume
 to profess, that these Acts of denying and blas-
 pheming God, or the Holiness or Righteousness
 of God; or the Acts of cursing God, or of
 swearing profanely or falsely by the Name of God;
 or the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Couzening, and
 defrauding others; or the Acts of Murder, Adul-
 tery, Incest, Fornication, Uncleaness, Sodomy,
 Drunkenness, filthy and lascivious Speaking, are
 not Things in themselves shameful, wicked,
 sinful, impious, abominable, and detestable in
 any Person, or to be practiced or done by any
 Person: Or shall profess, that the Acts of
 Adultery, Drunkenness, Swearing, and the like
 open Wickedness, are in their own Nature as
 holy and righteous as the Duties of Prayer,
 Preaching, or giving of Thanks to God: Or
 shall avowedly profess, that whatsoever is acted
 by them, whether Whoredom, Adultery, Drun-
 keness, or the like open Wickedness, may be
 committed without Sin; or that such Acts are
 acted by the true God, or by the Majesty of God,
 or the Eternity that is in them; that Heaven
 and all Happiness consists in the acting of those
 Things which are Sin and Wickedness; or that
 such Men or Women are most perfect, or like to
 God or Eternity, which do commit the greatest
 Sins with the least Remorse or Sense; or that
 there is no such Thing really and truly as Un-
 righteousness, Unholiness, or Sin, but as a Man
 or Woman judgeth thereof; or that there is nei-
 ther Heaven nor Hell, neither Salvation nor
 Damnation, or that these are one and the same
 Thing; and that there is not any Distinction or
 Difference truly between them:

By this Act it was ordain'd, That any Person
 maintaining any of the Opinions above enumera-

326 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

ted, should, for the first Offence, suffer six Months Imprisonment, without Bail, and find Sureties for their good Behaviour for one Year; for the second, be banished; and for returning without License, suffer Death. This Act was required to be read and given in Charge at Assizes and Sessions, and to be proclaim'd in every Market Town.

The Bill for the
better Regulation
of Parliaments
dropp'd.

Aug. 14. All this Time the Bill, long since brought in, for an equal Representative, and regulating Elections for Members of Parliament, was canvassed, in a Grand Committee of the whole House, every *Wednesday*; but, as yet, nothing was done in it. This Delay plainly shews, that the present Members had no Mind to part with their Power or Places, and venture a Dissolution of the Parliament. Nay, it seems about this Time, when the Army was so far distant from them, they had a Design to drop the Bill; for, at the End of the Debate this Day, a Motion being made, That the House be resolved into a Grand Committee this Day Se'nnight, upon the Heads of the said Bill, &c. it passed in the Negative, and this Day Fortnight was agreed to instead of it.—During all this Debate the Doors were ordered to be kept shut, as usual; and we find that this Election-Bill, after being put off from Time to Time, was at last laid aside.

We hear no further, as yet, concerning the Trial of the six Gentlemen design'd as Victims to be offered to the Ghost of Mr. *Ascham*, the Parliament's late Agent in *Spain*. But this Day, *Aug. 20*, another unhappy Gentleman, not in the above List, Col. *Eusebius Andrews*, was reported, by the Attorney-General, to be tried, convicted, and sentenced by the High Court of Justice to suffer the Pains of Death, as in case of Treason. The House thought fit to alter this Sentence, on the humble Petition of the Prisoner, from Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering, into Beheading; and accordingly he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* two Days after.

Aug.

Aug. 22. This Day the Parliament received, from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, a Narrative of the farther Proceedings of the *English* Army in *Scotland*, with several Papers inclosed, which were ordered to be published, as follows ^b:

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

From the Camp in *Musselburgh* Fields, August 16,
1650.

ON Tuesday, August 13, the Army advanced from *Musselburgh* to the West Side of *Edinburgh*, and so in Sight of the City for two or three Miles together; but had not so much as a Salute from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or *Dalkeith* where the Enemy had a Garrison, nor Opposition from the Enemy, nor did any Party of them make any Attempt upon the Rear, or otherwise: The Enemy also had another Garrison at *Red-Hall*, two Miles from *Edinburgh*, which they kept, who fired at our Men; yet, there not being above 20 Men there, it was not held considerable enough to take. The great Business being to engage the Enemy in the Field, a convenient and advantageous Place was next to be consulted of; and the Army being drawn up upon *Pentland* Hills, it was held fit to encamp the Army there; which was accordingly done, and their Tents pitched, many of them in View of *Edinburgh* City and Castle, that Night, from whence we received no Alarm.

This Day the Intelligence from *Edinburgh* was, That the *Scots* Army was now put to a greater Strait than ever, to see us come behind them, which hindered their Supplies from *Fife*; so that their Allowance is a Penny Loaf for two Men for twenty-four Hours, which was held so little, and so unlikely to hold out, that many of their Soldiers ran away from them: Yet many of the Horse had new Lances made them, with two Iron Pegs on each Side, besides the Pike at the End, that, in case the one should break, they might do Execution with the other.

The

^b Printed by *Edward Husbands* and *John Field*, Printers to the Parliament of England, Aug. 23, 1650.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

August.

‘ The People on that Side *Edinburgh* were all fled
 ‘ with their Bearn, Goods and Gear; and being
 ‘ persuaded by their Grandees that the Army would
 ‘ destroy all by Fire and Sword; they ran away as
 ‘ far as *Queen’s-Ferry*. Two Troops of Horse,
 ‘ and about 700 Highlanders, who were coming for
 ‘ their Relief, were sent to by a Post to go back to
 ‘ *Stirling*. When our Men fired the Furze-Bushes,
 ‘ they told the People they were firing of Houses,
 ‘ Our Ships, all this March, attended the Army
 ‘ with Provisions; but the Passes were too danger-
 ‘ ous for the Army to march near the Sea.

‘ On *Wednesday, Aug. 14*, in the Morning be-
 ‘ times, there came a Trumpeter from Lieutenant-
 ‘ General *David Lesley*, with the Letter and De-
 ‘ claration inclosed from him, which was read
 ‘ to so many of the Officers as could be got toge-
 ‘ ther, and in the Presence of the Enemy’s Trum-
 ‘ peter; and, after some Debate, the inclosed An-
 ‘ swer was return’d thereunto.

‘ But that Things might appear to look more
 ‘ towards an Accommodation, a great Com-
 ‘ mander of the Enemy’s, Colonel *Gibby Carre*,
 ‘ sent for the Captain of the Guard that com-
 ‘ manded the Party of Horse that were nearest the
 ‘ City; and, upon Security of a free Return, a Lieu-
 ‘ tenant of Major-General *Lambert’s* Regiment,
 ‘ who was then on the Guard, went to him, with
 ‘ whom he had much Discourse concerning the
 ‘ Grounds of the present Engagement against them;
 ‘ by which he perceived that many of them were
 ‘ deluded by the Malignants’ specious Pretences,
 ‘ and that the more honest and godly Party did be-
 ‘ gin to think of taking another Course: He de-
 ‘ clared, That they were not in a Capacity to
 ‘ fight us, but to keep in their Trenches, and trust
 ‘ to the Protection of the Almighty. This Way
 ‘ of Reconcilement being thought the best Issue of
 ‘ all the Hardships and Labours of this Army, to
 ‘ gain a Conquest without Blood, or taking away
 ‘ the Lives of Men, some more Freedom was
 ‘ taken

‘ taken by the Officers to confer with those of the
 ‘ Enemy whom they found to be ingenuous and re-
 ‘ ligious; by which they perceived, that their King
 ‘ having refused to sign a Declaration of his re-
 ‘ nouncing and declaring against the Miscarriage of
 ‘ his Father, and his Repentance of all the Blood
 ‘ that was shed in his Father’s Time, by his Fa-
 ‘ ther’s or his own Means, and to resolve to ad-
 ‘ here to the Cause of God, the Kirk, and Cove-
 ‘ nant, they had Thoughts of relinquishing him,
 ‘ and to act upon another Account. It is remark-
 ‘ able that, upon the Day when our Army drew
 ‘ off from *Edinburgh*, at their first coming before
 ‘ it, when their King would have come forth to
 ‘ have charg’d in Person, the Lord-General *Leven*
 ‘ told him, That if he did it he would lay down
 ‘ his Commission.

Inter-regnum.
 1650.

August.

‘ *Thursday, August 15.* This Day, by reason
 ‘ of the Want of Provisions, our Army went back
 ‘ to *Musselburgh*, where the Ships were ready with
 ‘ Provisions of Bread and Cheese, which were ta-
 ‘ ken in. The last Night the Enemy made no
 ‘ Sally at all, nor in all this Day’s March, nor
 ‘ made any other Attempt; only at the passing of
 ‘ some of our Men by *Dalkeith* they discharg’d two
 ‘ Drakes. At our marching back by *Edinburgh*
 ‘ the Enemy received a great Alarm, and remov’d
 ‘ their Guns from the further Side of *Leith* to this
 ‘ Side; Lieutenant-General *Lesley* also sent a Party,
 ‘ with two great Guns, to secure a Pass towards the
 ‘ *Queen’s-Ferry*. This Day (being the first Day of
 ‘ the Parliament’s Sitting) the Prince should have
 ‘ been crowned; but, in regard of his refusing to
 ‘ sign the Declaration before-mentioned, it was
 ‘ suspended.

‘ On *Friday, August 16*, the 45,000*l.* being
 ‘ come for the Pay of the Army, both Horse and
 ‘ Foot muster’d that Day; Provisions were then de-
 ‘ liver’d out for six or seven Days, in order to a
 ‘ further March.”

The

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

The Letter from Lieutenant-General *Lesley*, referred to in the foregoing.*For his Excellency the Lord-General CROMWELL.**My Lord,**Bruchton, Aug. 13, 1650.*

I Am commanded by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desired by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to send unto your Excellency this inclosed Declaration, as that which containeth the State of the Quarrel; wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's Assistance, to fight your Army, when the Lord shall be pleased to call us thereunto. And as you have professed you will not conceal any of our Papers, I do desire that this Declaration may be made known to all the Officers of your Army; and so I rest

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

DAVID LESLEY.

A DECLARATION from the COMMISSIONERS of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Kirk of Scotland, anent the stating of the Quarrel whereon the Army is to fight.

West-Kirk, Aug. 13, 1650.

THE Commissioners of the General Assembly considering that there may be just Ground of stumbling, from the King's Majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the Declaration offer'd unto him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former Carriage, and Resolutions for the future, in reference to the Cause of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof, doth therefore declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom do not own nor espouse any malignant Party, or Quarrel or Interest, but that they fight meerly upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in Defence of the Cause of God and of the Kingdom, as they have done these twelve Years past: And there-

fore

fore, as they do disclaim all the Sin and Guilt of
the King and of his House, so they will not own
him, nor his Interest, otherwise than with a Sub-
ordination to God; and so far as he owns and
prosecutes the Cause of God, and disclaims his
and his Father's Opposition to the Work of God,
and to the Covenant, and likewise all the Enemies
thereof: And that they will, with convenient Speed,
take into Consideration the Papers lately sent un-
to them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate
themselves from all the Falshoods contain'd there-
in, especially in those Things wherein the Quar-
rel betwixt us and that Party is mis-stated, as if
we owned the late King's Proceedings, and were
resolved to prosecute and maintain his present
Majesty's Interest before, and without, Acknow-
ledgment of the Sins of his House and former
Ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both
Kingdoms.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
August.

A. K. E. R.

August 13, 1650.

THE Committee of Estates having seen and
considered *A Declaration from the Com-
missioners of the General Assembly, anent the stating
of the Quarrel, whereon the Army is to fight*, do ap-
prove the same, and heartily concur therein.

THO. HENDERSON.

The Lord-General CROMWELL's ANSWER to the
foregoing LETTER and DECLARATION.

For the Right Hon. DAVID LESLEY, Lieutenant-
General of the Scots Army.

From the Camp at Pentland-Hills, Aug. 14, 1650.

S I R,

I Received yours of the 13th Instant, with the
Paper you mentioned therein inclosed, which
I caused to be read in the Presence of so many Of-
ficers as could well be gotten together, to which
your

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

your Trumpet can witness. We return you this Answer, by which I hope, in the Lord, it will appear that we continue the same we have professed ourselves to the honest People in *Scotland*, wishing to them as to our own Souls; it being no Part of our Business to hinder any of them from worshipping God in that Way they are satisfied in their Consciences by the Word of God they ought, though different from us, but shall therein be ready to perform what Obligation lies upon us by the Covenant; but that under the Pretence of the Covenant mistaken, and wrested from the most native Intent and Equity thereof, a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us, and this called the Cause of God and the Kingdom; and this done upon the Satisfaction of God's People in both Nations, as is alledged, together with a Disowning of Malignants; altho' he who is the Head of them, in whom all their Hope and Comfort lies, be received; who at this very Instant hath a Popish Party fighting for, and under, him in *Ireland*; hath Prince *Rupert* (a Man who hath had his Hand deep in the Blood of many innocent Men of *England*) now in the Head of our Ships stolen from us upon a malignant Account; hath the *French* and *Irish* Ships daily making Depredations on our Coasts; and strong Combinations by the Malignants in *England*, to raise Armies in our Bowels, by virtue of his Commissions, who hath of late issued out very many to that Purpose: How the Interest you pretend you have received him upon, and the Malignant Interest in the Ends and Consequences centring in this Man, can be secured, we cannot discern; and how we should believe that whilst known and notorious Malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one Hand, and you declaring for him on the other, it should not be an espousing of a Malignant Party-Quarrel or Interest; but be a meer fighting upon former Grounds and Principles, and in the Defence of the Cause of God and of the Kingdoms, as hath been these twelve Years last past,

as

‘ as you say, for the Security and Satisfaction of
 ‘ God’s People in both Nations; or the Opposing of
 ‘ which should render us Enemies to the Godly with
 ‘ you, we cannot well understand, especially con-
 ‘ sidering that all these Malignants take their Confi-
 ‘ dence and Encouragement from the late Transac-
 ‘ tions of your Kirk and State with your King; for
 ‘ as we have already said, so we tell you again, it is
 ‘ but satisfying Security to those that employ us,
 ‘ and are concerned in that we seek, which we
 ‘ conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned
 ‘ Submissions from a Person who could not tell
 ‘ otherwise how to accomplish his malignant Ends;
 ‘ and therefore counselled to this Compliance by
 ‘ them who assisted his Father, and have hitherto ac-
 ‘ tuated him in his most evil and desperate Designs,
 ‘ and are now again by them set on foot; against
 ‘ which how you will be able, in the Way you are
 ‘ in, to secure us or yourselves, is (forasmuch as
 ‘ concerns ourselves) our Duty to look after.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

August.

‘ If the State of your Quarrel be thus, upon
 ‘ which, as you say, you resolve to fight our Ar-
 ‘ my, you will have Opportunity to do that; else
 ‘ what means our Abode here? And if our Hope
 ‘ be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We
 ‘ commit both you and ourselves to him who knows
 ‘ the Heart and tries the Reins; with whom are all
 ‘ our Ways who is able to do for us and you
 ‘ above what we know; which we desire may be
 ‘ in much Mercy to his poor People, and to the
 ‘ Glory of his own great Name: And having per-
 ‘ form’d your Desire in making your Papers so pub-
 ‘ lic, as is before expressed, I desire you to do the
 ‘ like, by letting the State, Kirk, and Army have
 ‘ the Knowledge hereof. To which End I have
 ‘ sent you inclosed two Copies, and rest

Your humble Servant,

-O. CROMWELL.

Aug. 27. Another Letter from Ireland was re-
 ceived, dated from the Camp at Waterford, Au-
 gust

Inter-regnum.
1650.

August.

gust 12, 1650; after the Reading of which, public Thanks were ordered to be given to God, the next Lord's Day, for these further Successes gain'd in that Kingdom; the Particulars whereof will fully appear by the following Declaration, which was ordered to be drawn up and published on that Occasion; and likewise to be read in all Congregations throughout the Nation, immediately after the Psalm before Sermon, for the better stirring up the Hearts of the People to praise God for this Victory.

A Narrative of
the taking of
*Waterford, Ca-
therlagh, &c.* by
Gen. Ireton, De-
puty-Lieutenant
of Ireland.

EVER since that wonderful and unexpected Victory which the Lord was pleased, the last Summer, to give unto a small Party of the Parliament's Forces then in *Dublin*, against that numerous and potent Army under *Ormond*; which was a Door of Hope to the Parliament and their Army, then on their Way for *Ireland*, that the Lord, who had made so open a Way for them, would vouchsafe his Presence with them, to carry on and perfect that Work which himself had so eminently begun in that admirable Providence, wherein he had, as it were, by a Worm, thresh'd the Mountains: The same gracious Hand hath gone along, from Time to Time, with his Servants there, vouchsafing them many Victories, giving many strong Cities, Towns, Castles, and Garrisons into their Hands, raising up their Spirits, overcoming great Difficulties, furnishing seasonable Supplies, and dismaying the Hearts of the Enemies; and that in such a Series of continued Successes, as is just Matter of high Admiration, and perpetual Thankfulness in all that truly fear the Lord, and love his Cause and People. And seeing every Addition of Mercy is a further Obligation to Thankfulness and Duty; and that the Lord hath been pleased, as a further Manifestation of his Goodness, to give up into the Hands of the Parliament's Forces there, *Catherlagh*, a Garrison of much Strength and Importance; *Waterford*, a great and populous Town, and the
most

' most considerable Harbour in all *Ireland*, upon
 ' *Saturday* the 10th of *August* Inst. together with
 ' the strong Castle of *Duncannon*, since likewise
 ' surrendered upon Articles: The Parliament of
 ' *England* have thought fit not to let such great
 ' Mercies pass, without an especial Return of
 ' Thankfulness; but to publish the Narrative there-
 ' of, as it comes to us in a Letter from the De-
 ' puty-General of *Ireland*^b; the Effect whereof is as
 ' followeth, viz. The Deputy having received, at
 ' the late Leaguer before *Catherlagh*, several Alarms
 ' of great Forces of the Enemy rising and appear-
 ' ing within the Counties of *Cork*, *Kerry*, *Limerick*,
 ' and *Tipperary*, to the distressing and endangering of
 ' our Parties and Garrisons in those Parts; where
 ' the Enemy threatened to destroy our Quarters,
 ' and probably designed a Conjunction of their most
 ' considerable Forces, in order to the Relief of
 ' *Waterford*, and an Attempt upon the small Party
 ' left to block it up; after he had disposed divers
 ' of his Forces to secure *Carrick*, to repel and op-
 ' pose the Enemy in *Carbery*, and the Western
 ' Parts, and to march to the Relief of our Forces
 ' in *Kerry* and *Limerick*, leaving Sir *Hardress*
 ' *Waller* with the Body of the Army, to carry on
 ' the Business about *Catherlagh*, he did himself draw
 ' down with a small Party of Foot towards *Water-*
 ' *ford*, to beleaguer it more straitly. Coming be-
 ' fore *Waterford* with those Foot, and some small
 ' Parties left there before, to block it up at a Dis-
 ' tance, he applied himself to a closer Siege of it;
 ' making two Quarters within shot of their Walls,
 ' which, with our Foot at the Abbey on the other
 ' Side of the Water, kept them close within the
 ' Town on every Side; and then trying them with
 ' a Summons, the Enemy within so despised our
 ' small Numbers, as that they made an Offer as if
 ' they durst set open one of their Gates, and let in
 ' all

Inter-regnum.
 1650.
 August.

^b Commissary-General *Ireton*, to whom *Cromwell* left the Com-
 mand during his Absence, which Appointment was afterwards con-
 firm'd by the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

August.

all our Foot to make the best of it: And to that being answered it was but a vain Brag, and they durst not make it good, they in Reply, for their Honour's Sake, seemed to adhere to their former Vanity, but with such Conditions and Cautions as they might be sure would not be accepted: But that the Power of God might appear in our despised Weakness against this Pride of Man, these Sons of Honour, as they would be thought, did, even in both the same Letters, unequally subjoin to these high Vapours an Offer of Treaty for Surrender: During which Time News came from *Catherlagh*, that it had pleased God, beyond, or much before, Expectation, upon our Men's battering, and then taking by Storm (without Loss on our Part) a small Tower on their Bridge over the *Barrow*, to bring down the Enemy's Hearts to a Treaty, for a Surrender of that strong and important Place. Hereupon the Deputy conceiving *Waterford* to be attemptible by Force in one or two Places, though otherwise exceedingly fortified; while Preparations were made for that Attempt, the Lord wrought upon the Hearts of the Enemy to desire a Treaty, without those Terms of Honour, which formerly they insisted on; by which, after high Demands, rejected on our Part with Indignation, they were, on *Tuesday* the 6th of this Instant *August*, brought to surrender upon Articles, which was perform'd on *Saturday* following; at which Time there marched out about 700 Men, well arm'd, the Townsmen more numerous than before was believed, and the Town better fortified in all Parts, and more difficult to be attempted than our Forces conceived, there being many private Stores sufficient to have maintained them a long Time; whereby we may see the Hand of God in overpowering the Hearts of the Enemy, which was the only Cause of their present Surrender. By this of *Waterford* and *Catherlagh*, God was pleased to extend his Hand towards *Duncannon*; the Enemy there (though a Priest was Governor) having on the same *Saturday*,
day,

‘ day, with Col. *Cook’s* Leave, sent one to *Waterford*, to see whether it were surrendered, did on the 11th of this Month desire a Treaty, which produced, through the same Divine Mercy, a Surrender of the same Castle of *Duncannon*, upon Articles, on *Saturday* the 17th of this Month; since which Time the strong Garrison and Castle of *Charlemount* is likewise surrendered, whereby the whole Province of *Ulster* is now intirely in the Power of the Parliament.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

August.

‘ For all which great Mercies the Parliament doth order, &c.

Aug. 28. It is observable that in *Cromwell’s* Narrative of the Proceedings of the Army in *Scotland*, last mentioned, he inform’d the House that the Prince (meaning King *Charles II.*) was to have been crown’d in that Kingdom on the 15th of this Month; but that the Ceremony was suspended on account of his refusing to sign a Declaration which the *Scots* Parliament required of him, whereby he was to profess his Repentance for all the Blood shed in his Father’s Time and since by his own Means; and to resolve to adhere, for the future, to the Cause of God, the Kirk, and the Covenant; However, the King was prevail’d upon to sign it on the 16th of this Month; and a Copy thereof being sent up to the Parliament, it was read in the House this Day; a Committee was also appointed to withdraw and consider of a Declaration to be printed and published thereupon. This was presently brought in and pass’d, as preparatory to an Answer at large, which was ordered to be drawn up by the Council of State, and will shortly follow in its due Order of Time. The previous Declaration runs thus :

King *Charles II.*
having published
a Declaration in
Scotland;

‘ **T**HE Parliament of *England* having seen The Parliament
‘ and read a Pamphlet, intituled, *A Declaration by the King’s Majesty, to his Subjects of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland,* declare the abetting or publishing thereof to be
‘ printed at *Edinburgh*, 1650, do find therein a High Treason.
‘ Design of *Charles Stuart*, the declared King of
VOL. XIX Y Scot-

338 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘*Scotland, by the Instigation of the State and
Kirk of that Kingdom, under a Pretence of Hu-
miliation for his own and his Father’s Opposition
to the Work of Reformation and Solemn League
and Covenant, to seduce the People of this Na-
tion from their due Obedience to this present Go-
vernment; and to invite them, by promoting his
pretended Interest here, not only to embroil this
Nation in new Troubles, by a bloody and inte-
stine War, (thereby, as much as in them lies,
taking away all Hopes of a settled Peace in this
Commonwealth) but also to make themselves in-
strumental to inthral themselves again in Tyranny
and Slavery, from which they have been, thro’
the Blessing and glorious Appearances of God,
so happily redeem’d. And, however, the Parlia-
ment have Reason to believe, that no pious or ju-
dicious Person can possibly be deluded under such
gross Deceits, to contribute such an Assistance as
in that Declaration is call’d for, and which would
most undoubtedly end, if the Lord prevent it not,
in the Destruction of the truly Godly in both Na-
tions, and the betraying of that Cause that hath
been engaged in by them; nevertheless, they have
resolved, for the better Information and Satisfac-
tion of the People of this Land, more largely and
particularly to unmask and discover the Hypocri-
sy and wicked Design lodged under the specious
Pretences in that Declaration; and, in the mean
Time, do enact and declare, That all Persons
whatsoever, who shall abet or countenance the
said Declaration, by printing or publishing the
same, or by promoting or prosecuting the Design
or Ends therein contained, are hereby adjudged
to be guilty of High Treason, and shall be pro-
ceeded against as Traitors.*’

September. Nothing material occurs this Month,
till the 6th, when the following Letter from the
Lord-General to a Member of the Council of
State, was read in the House^a.

S I R,

^a From the original Edition, printed for Robert Ibbetson, in
Smithfield, near Hosier-lane, and licensed by Henry Scobell,

S I R,

Musselburgh, Aug. 31, 1650.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

A Letter from
Gen. Cromwell,
concerning the
State of the Ar-
my under his
Command.

SINCE my last, we seeing the Enemy not willing to engage, and yet very apt to take Exceptions against Speeches of that Kind, spoken in our Army, which occasioned some of them to come to parley with our Officers, to let them know that they would fight us, they lying still in or near their Fastnesses, on the West Side of *Edinburgh*; we resolved, the Lord assisting, to draw near to them once more, to try if we could fight them; and, indeed, one Hour's Advantage gain'd might probably, we think, have given us an Opportunity; to which Purpose, upon *Tuesday* the 27th Instant, we march'd Westward of *Edinburgh* towards *Stirling*; which the Enemy perceiving, march'd with as great Expedition as was possible to prevent us, and the Vanguards of both the Armies came to skirmish upon a Place where Bogs and Passes made the Access of each Army to the other difficult: We, being ignorant of the Place, drew up, hoping to have engaged, but found no way feazable, by reason of the Bogs and other Difficulties.

We drew up our Cannon, and did that Day discharge 2 or 300 great Shot upon them; a considerable Number they likewise return'd to us, and this was all that passed from each to other, wherein we had near 20 kill'd and wounded, but not one Commission-Officer. The Enemy, as we are informed, had about 80 kill'd, and some considerable Officers. Seeing they would keep their Ground, from which we could not remove them, and our Bread being spent, we were necessitated to go for a new Supply, and so march'd off about Ten or Eleven o'Clock on *Wednesday* Morning: The Enemy perceiving it, and, as we conceive, fearing we might interpose between them and *Edinburgh*, though it was not our Intention, albeit it seem'd so by our March, retreat'd back again with all Haste, having a Bog and Passes between them and us; there being no con-

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ fiderable Action, faving the skirmifhing of the
 ‘ Van of our Horfe with theirs, near to *Edinburgh*,
 ‘ without any confiderable Lofs to either Part, fa-
 ‘ ving that we got two or three of their Horses.
 ‘ That Night we quartered within a Mile of
 ‘ *Edinburgh*, and of the Enemy; it was a moft
 ‘ tempeftuous Night and wet Morning. The Ene-
 ‘ my marched in the Night between *Leith* and
 ‘ *Edinburgh*, to interpoſe between us and our Vic-
 ‘ tual, they knowing that it was ſpent, but the
 ‘ Lord in Mercy prevented it; which we percei-
 ‘ ving in the Morning, got Time enough, through
 ‘ the Goodneſs of the Lord, to the Sea Side to re-
 ‘ victual; the Enemy being drawn up upon the
 ‘ Hill near *Arthur’s Seat*, looking upon us, but
 ‘ not attempting any Thing: And thus you have
 ‘ an Account of the preſent Occurrences.

Your moſt humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Tho’ the foregoing Letter left the two Armies looking, as it were, upon one another; yet they did not long remain in that unactive Situation: For,

On *Saturday* the 7th of this Month, Advice came of a great Victory gain’d by the *Engliſh* Army near *Dunbar* on the 3d, in which the *Scots* were entirely routed. When this important News arriv’d, the Houſe was adjourn’d, according to their late uſual Cuſtom, from *Friday* to *Tueſday*: Hereupon the Council of State ordered a brief Narrative of this Action to be immediately printed, and read the next *Sunday* in all the Churches in and about *London*, that the People might return Thanks to God for his ſignal Mercy to the Commonwealth. On the 9th a further Relation of this Affair was publiſhed: But both theſe we purpoſely omit, to make Way for a more full and ample Detail thereof, communicated to the Parliament on the 10th, in the following Letters: And firſt that from Mr. *Ruſſworth*, Secretary to the Army.

For

For the Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

S I R, Dunbar, Sep. 3, 1650.

September.

I Intimated unto you before, that our drawing off from *Musselburgh* might tempt the Enemy to draw out, which accordingly they did; and the rather, for that they were informed, as some of their Prisoners confess, we had shipped our Train of Artillery, which was a Mistake of them, for it was the 600 sick Soldiers of the Flux that I had shipp'd that Morning: So they march'd after us, with Horse, Foot, and Train, within a Mile of *Dunbar*, where both Armies stood in Battalia all Night; only in the Morning, about Two o'Clock, we gave them a hot Alarm, and so got the Wind of them; and this Morning about Twilight the General advanced with the Army, and charged them both in the Valley and on the Hill. The Battle was very fierce for the Time, one Part of their Battalia stood very stily to it, but the rest was presently routed.

Accounts of a
great Victory ob-
tained by him
near *Dunbar*.

I never beheld a more terrible Charge of Foot than was given by our Army, our Foot alone making the Scots Foot give Ground for three Quarters of a Mile together. We have all their Guns, Train, Bag, and Baggage, and beaten them clear out of the Field, Hills, and Valleys; and our Army is now at the least eight Miles in Pursuit of their Horse, their Foot being taken wholly. It was a happy and seasonable Victory, and God appeared in Man's greatest Weakness, they came with Confidence that all was their own. They had possess'd the Pass at *Copperspath* to hinder our March to *Berwick*, thinking we would have run away.

I shall not descend to Particulars, till we have a particular Account of the Prisoners and Slain. Indeed, when our Hearts began to fail, then did the Lord begin to appear. Fourteen hundred

342 The Parliamentary History

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

' sick Men have I in all sent to *Berwick* and *New-*
' *castle*, and many Hundreds are wonderful sick
' in the Army. Considering those who have died
' and otherwise left the Army, and the *Scots* dou-
' bling the Number, the more the Lord was seen
' in the Victory. They came full of Revenge in
' their Hearts to cut us off without Mercy; they
' having in the Evening before taken 40 of Colo-
' nel *Pride's* Men, that went to possess a House,
' they cut them and mangled them in a most bar-
' barous Manner after they had given them Quar-
' ter. You shall hear suddenly further from

Your most humble Servant,

JO. RUSHWORTH.

Next, a Letter from the Lord-General, with a List
of the Names of the *Scots* Officers taken Prisoners.

For the Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq; Speaker
of the Parliament of England.

S I R,

Dunbar, Sep. 4, 1650.

' I Hope it is not ill taken that I make no more
' frequent Addresses to the Parliament: Things
' that are of Trouble in point of Provision for your
' Army, and of ordinary Direction, I have, as
' I could, often presented to the Council of
' State, together with such Occurrences as have
' happened; who, I am sure, as they have not been
' wanting in their extraordinary Care and Provi-
' sion for us, so neither in what they judg'd fit and
' necessary to represent the same to you: And this
' I thought to be a sufficient Discharge of my Du-
' ty on that Behalf.

' It hath now pleased God to bestow a Mercy
' upon you worthy your Knowledge, and of the
' utmost Praise and Thanks of all that fear and
' love his Name; yea, the Mercy is far above all
' Praise; which, that you may the better perceive,
' I shall take the Boldness to tender unto you some
' Circumstances accompanying this great Business,
' which will manifest the Greatness and Season-
' ableness of this Mercy.

' We

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ We having tried what we could to engage the
 ‘ Enemy three or four Miles West of *Edinburgh*,
 ‘ that proving ineffectual, and our Victual failing,
 ‘ we marched towards our Ships for a Recruit of
 ‘ our Want. The Enemy did not at all trouble us
 ‘ in our Rear, but marched the direct Way to-
 ‘ wards *Edinburgh*; and, partly in the Night and
 ‘ Morning, slips thro’ his whole Army, and quar-
 ‘ ters himself in a Posture easy to interpose be-
 ‘ tween us and our Victual; but the Lord made
 ‘ them to lose the Opportunity, and, the Morning
 ‘ proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered,
 ‘ by that Time it was light, into a Ground where
 ‘ they could not hinder us from our Victual; which
 ‘ was an high Act of the Lord’s Providence to us.
 ‘ We being come into the said Ground, the Enemy
 ‘ marched into the Ground we were last upon, ha-
 ‘ ving no Mind either to strive to interpose between
 ‘ us and our Victual, or to fight, being indeed
 ‘ upon this Lock, hoping that the Sickness of your
 ‘ Army would render their Work more easy by the
 ‘ gaining of Time: Whereupon we march’d to
 ‘ *Musselburgh* to victual and ship away our sick
 ‘ Men, where we sent aboard near 500 sick and
 ‘ wounded Soldiers: And, upon serious Consider-
 ‘ ation, finding our Weakness to increase, and
 ‘ the Enemy lying upon his Advantages, at a Ge-
 ‘ neral Council, it was thought fit to march to
 ‘ *Dunbar*, and there to fortify the Town, which
 ‘ we thought, if any Thing, would provoke them
 ‘ to engage; as also that the having of a Garri-
 ‘ son there, would furnish us with Accommoda-
 ‘ tion for our sick Men; would be a good Maga-
 ‘ zine, which we exceedingly wanted, being put
 ‘ to depend upon the Uncertainty of Weather for
 ‘ landing Provisions; which many Times cannot
 ‘ be done, though the Being of the whole Army
 ‘ lay upon it, all the Coast from *Berwick* to *Leith*
 ‘ not having one good Harbour; as also to lie
 ‘ more conveniently to receive our Recruits of
 ‘ Horse and Foot from *Berwick*

‘ Having

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ Having these Considerations, upon *Saturday* the
 ‘ 30th of *August* we marched from *Musselburgh* to
 ‘ *Haddington*; where, by that Time we had got
 ‘ the Van Brigade of our Horse, and our Foot and
 ‘ Train into their Quarters, the Enemy was march-
 ‘ ed with that exceeding Expedition, that they fell
 ‘ upon the Rear Forlorn of our Horse, and put it
 ‘ in some Disorder; and, indeed, had like to have
 ‘ engaged our Rear Brigade of Horse with their
 ‘ whole Army, had not the Lord, by his Provi-
 ‘ dence, put a Cloud over the Moon, thereby gi-
 ‘ ving us Opportunity to draw off those Horse to
 ‘ the rest of the Army; which accordingly was
 ‘ done without any Loss, save three or four of our
 ‘ aforementioned Forelorn, wherein the Enemy, as
 ‘ we believe, received more Loss.

‘ The Army being put into a reasonable secure
 ‘ Posture, towards Midnight the Enemy attempted
 ‘ our Quarters on the West End of *Haddington*;
 ‘ but, thro’ the Goodness of God, we repulsed them.

‘ The next Morning we drew into an open
 ‘ Field on the South Side of *Haddington*, we not
 ‘ judging it safe to draw to the Enemy upon his
 ‘ own Ground, he being prepossessed thereof; but
 ‘ rather drew back to give him Way to come to
 ‘ us, if he had so thought fit: And having waited
 ‘ about the Space of four or five Hours, to see if
 ‘ he would come to us; and not finding any Inclination in the Enemy so to do, we resolved to go,
 ‘ according to our first Intendment, to *Dunbar*.

‘ By that Time we had marched three or four
 ‘ Miles, we saw some Bodies of the Enemy’s Horse
 ‘ draw out of their Quarters; and by that Time our
 ‘ Carriages were gotten near *Dunbar*, their whole
 ‘ Army was upon their March after us: And indeed our drawing back in this Manner, with the
 ‘ Addition of three new Regiments added to them,
 ‘ did much heighten their Confidence, if not Pre-
 ‘ sumption and Arrogancy.

‘ The Enemy that Night we perceived gathered
 ‘ towards the Hills, labouring to make a perfect
 ‘ Interposition between us and *Berwick*; and ha-
 ‘ ving

ving in this Posture a great Advantage, through his better Knowledge of the Country, which he effected by sending a considerable Party to the strait Pass at *Copperspath*, where ten Men to hinder are better than forty to make their Way.

Inter-regnum;

1650.

September.

And truly this was an Exigent to us, where- by the Enemy reproached us with that Condition the Parliament's Army was in when it made its hard Conditions with the King in *Cornwall*. By some Reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us and of their Business, in sufficient Revenge and Wrath towards our Persons, and had swallowed up the poor Interest of *England*, believing that their Army and their King would have marched to *London* without any Interruption; it being told us, we know not how truly, by a Prisoner we took the Night before the Fight, that their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those *English* they allowed to be about him; but in what they were thus lifted up the Lord was above them.

The Enemy lying in the Posture before-mentioned, having those Advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our Disadvantages, having some Weakness of Flesh, but yet Consolation and Support from the Lord himself, to our poor weak Faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us shar'd, that because of their Numbers, because of their Advantages, because of their Confidence, because of our Weakness, because of our Strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would find out a Way of Deliverance and Salvation for us; and indeed we had our Consolations and our Hopes.

Upon *Monday* Evening the Enemy, whose Numbers were very great, as we heard about 6000 Horse, and 16,000 Foot, at least; ours drawn down, as to sound Men, to about 7500 Foot, and 3500 Horse.

The Enemy drew down to their Right Wing about two Thirds of their Left Wing of Horse, shogging also their Foot and Train much to the Right,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

Right, causing their Right Wing of Horse to edge down towards the Sea.

We could not well imagine but that the Enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact Condition of Interposition. Major-General *Lambert* and myself coming to the Earl of *Roxburgh's* House, and observing this Posture, I told him I thought it did give us an Opportunity and Advantage to attempt upon the Enemy; to which he immediately replied, That he had thought to have said the same Thing to me; so that it pleased the Lord to set this Apprehension upon both of our Hearts at the same Instant. We call'd for Col. *Monck* and shew'd him the Thing; and coming to our Quarters at Night, and demonstrating our Apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also chearfully concurred.

We therefore resolved to put our Business into this Posture; that six Regiments of Horse and three Regiments and an Half of Foot should march in the Van: That the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and the Commissary-General, and Colonel *Monck*, to command the Brigade of Foot, should lead on the Business: And that Colonel *Pride's* Brigade, Col. *Overton's* Brigade, and the remaining two Regiments of Horse, should bring up the Cannon and Rear; the Time of falling on to be by Break of Day; but, thro' some Delays, it proved not to be so till Six o'Clock in the Morning.

The Enemy's Word was *The Covenant*, which it had been for some Days; ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Commissary-General *Whaley*, and Colonel *Twisleton*, gave the Onset, the Enemy being in a very good Posture to receive them, having the Advantage of their Cannon and Foot against our Horse.

Before our Foot could come up the Enemy made a gallant Resistance, and there was a very hot Dispute at Sword's Point between our Horse and theirs. Our first Foot, after they had discharged

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September,

‘ charged their Duty, being overpowered by the
‘ Enemy, received some Repulse, which they soon
‘ recovered: But my own Regiment, under the
‘ Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Goffe* and my
‘ Major *White*, did come seasonably in; and, at
‘ the Push of Pike, did repel the stoutest Regiment
‘ the Enemy had there, meerly with the Courage
‘ the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a
‘ great Amazement to the Residue of their Foot.
‘ This being the first Action between the Foot,
‘ the Horse, in the mean Time, did, with a
‘ great deal of Courage and Spirit, beat back all
‘ Opposition, charging through the Bodies of the
‘ Enemy’s Horse and Foot; who were, after the
‘ first Repulse given, made, by the Lord of Hosts,
‘ as Stubble to their Swords.

‘ Indeed, I believe I may speak it without Par-
‘ tiality, both your Chief Commanders and others
‘ in their several Places, and Soldiers also, acted
‘ with as much Courage as ever hath been seen in
‘ any Action since this War.

‘ I know they look not to be named, and there-
‘ fore I forbear Particulars; the best of the Ene-
‘ my’s Horse and Foot being broken through and
‘ through in less than an Hour’s Dispute, and their
‘ whole Army being put into Confusion, it became
‘ a total Rout, our Men having the Chase and
‘ Execution of them near eight Miles.

‘ We believe that upon the Place, and near
‘ about it, were 3000 slain; Prisoners taken of their
‘ Officers you have a List inclosed; of the private
‘ Soldiers taken, near 10,000; the whole Baggage
‘ and Train taken, wherein was good Store of
‘ Match, Powder and Bullet, all their Artillery,
‘ great and small, and 30 Guns.

‘ We are confident they have left behind them
‘ not less than 15,000 Arms. I have already near
‘ 200 Colours brought in to me, which I herewith
‘ send you. *

‘ What

* The *Journals* say these Colours belong’d to 17 Regiments of
Foot, and 27 of Horse.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

What Officers of theirs, of Quality, are kill'd, we cannot yet learn; but yet surely divers are, and many Men of Quality are mortally wounded, as Col. *Lumsden*, the Lord *Liberton*, and others. And that which is no small Addition, I do not believe we have lost 20 Men; not one Commission Officer slain, as I hear of, save one Cornet, and Major *Rooksby*, since dead of his Wounds, and not many mortally wounded. Col. *Whaley* only cut in the Wrist, and his Horse killed under him, having received two Shot; but he well, recovered another Horse, and went on in the Chase.

Thus you have a Prospect of one of the most signal Mercies God hath done for *England* and his People this War; and now it may please you to give me Leave of a few Words:

It is easy to say the Lord hath done this; it would do you good to see and hear our poor Foot go up and down, making their Boast of God: But, Sir, it is in your Hands, and by these eminent Mercies God puts it more into your Hands, to give Glory to him to improve your Power, and his Blessings, to his Praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us, but God alone; we pray you own his People more and more, for they are the Chariots and Horsemen of *Israel*. Disown yourselves, but own your Authority, and improve it to curb the Proud and the Insolent, such as would disturb the Tranquility of *England*, though under what specious Pretences soever.

Relieve the Oppressed; hear the Groans of poor Prisoners in *England*; be pleased to reform the Abuses of all Professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth. If he that strengthens your Servants to fight, please to give you Hearts to set upon these Things, in order to his Glory and the Glory of your Commonwealth, besides the Benefit *England* shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the
 ' Glory

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ Glory of such a Pattern, and, through the Power
‘ of God, turn into the like.

‘ These are our Desires; and that you may have
‘ Liberty and Opportunity to do these Things, and
‘ not be hindered, we have been and shall be, by
‘ God’s Assistance, willing to venture our Lives,
‘ and not desire you should be precipitated by Im-
‘ portunities, from your Care of Safety and Pre-
‘ servation; but that the doing of these good Things
‘ may have their Place amongst those which con-
‘ cern Well-being, and so be wrought in their
‘ Time and Order.

‘ Since we came into *Scotland* it hath been our
‘ Desire and Longing to have avoided Blood in this
‘ Business, by reason that God hath a People here
‘ fearing his Name, though deceived; and to that
‘ End have we offered much Love unto such in the
‘ Bowels of Christ, and concerning the Truth of
‘ our Hearts therein, have we appealed unto the
‘ Lord.

‘ The Ministers of *Scotland* have hindered the
‘ Passage of these Things to the Hearts of those to
‘ whom we intended them; and now we hear that
‘ not only the deceived People, but some of the
‘ Ministers are also fallen in this Battle. This is
‘ the great Hand of the Lord, and worthy of the
‘ Consideration of all those who take into their
‘ Hands the Instruments of a foolish Shepherd, to
‘ wit, meddling with worldly Policies, and Mixtures
‘ of earthly Power, to set up that which they call
‘ the Kingdom of Christ; which is neither it, nor,
‘ if it were, would such Means be found effectual
‘ to that End, and neglect or trust not to the Word
‘ of God.

‘ The Sword of the Spirit is alone powerful
‘ and able for the setting up of that Kingdom, and,
‘ when trusted to, will be found effectually able
‘ to that End, and will also do it.

‘ This is humbly offered for their Sakes; who
‘ having lately too much turned aside, that they
‘ might return again to preach Jesus Christ accord-
‘ ing to the Simplicity of the Gospel; and then,
‘ no

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘no doubt, they will discern and find your Protec-
‘tion and Encouragement.

‘Beseeching you to pardon this Length, I hum-
‘bly take Leave, and rest,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

P. S. ‘Some Thousands wounded besides those
‘above-mentioned; 27,000 routed; the *Scots*
‘King and his Council withdrawn, but not known
‘whither; the Lord Chancellor’s Purse and Seals
‘taken, with a Book in them, of the new Acts
‘sign’d by their declared King; also divers Skeines
‘and Knives, wherewith they intended to have
‘murdered the *English*, had they come into *Eng-*
‘land.

‘Since the Fight, the City of *Edinburgh* taken:
‘*Leith* also taken.’

Annex’d to this Letter was a List of the Names
of the *Scots* Officers taken Prisoners in this Action:
But it will be sufficient for our Purpose to observe
that they consisted of one Lieutenant-General,
three Colonels, eleven Lieutenant-Colonels, nine
Majors of Horse and Foot, forty-seven Captains
of Horse and Foot, seven Captain-Lieutenants of
Horse and Foot, one Adjutant-General, seventy
Lieutenants of Foot, twelve Cornets, four Quar-
ter-Masters of Horse, and seventy-eight Ensigns.

Another Letter from the Lord General to the
Lord President of the Council of State, was also
read.

My Lord, Dunbar, Sept. 4, 1650.

‘I Have sent the Major-General with six Regi-
‘ments of Horse, and one of Foot, towards
‘*Edinburgh*, purposing, God willing, to follow
‘after To-morrow with what Conveniency I may.
‘We are put to exceeding Trouble, though it be

an

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ an Effect of abundant Mercy, with the Numer-
‘ ousness of our Prisoners, having so few Hands,
‘ so many of our Men sick, so little Conveniency
‘ of disposing of them; and not, by Attendance
‘ thereupon, to omit the Seasonableness of the
‘ Prosecution of this Mercy as Providence shall
‘ direct.

‘ We have been constrained, even out of Chris-
‘ tianity, Humanity, and the forementioned Necessi-
‘ ty, to dismiss between 4 and 5000 Prisoners,
‘ almost starved, sick, and wounded; the Remain-
‘ der, which are the like or a greater Number, I
‘ am fain to send by a Convoy of four Troops of
‘ Col. Hacker’s to Berwick, and so on to New-
‘ castle Southward.

‘ I think fit to acquaint your Lordship with two
‘ or three Observations: Some of the Honestest in
‘ the Army amongst the Scots did profess, before the
‘ Fight, that they did not believe their King in his
‘ Declaration; and it is most evident he did sign it
‘ with as much Reluctancy, and as much against his
‘ Heart, as could be; and yet they venture their
‘ Lives for him upon this Account, and publish this
‘ to the World, to be believed as the Act of a Person
‘ converted, when in their Hearts they know he
‘ abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not.

‘ I hear when the Enemy marched up last to us,
‘ the Ministers pressed their Army to interpose be-
‘ tween us and home, the chief Officers desiring
‘ rather that we might have Way made, though
‘ it were by a Golden Bridge; but the Clergy’s
‘ Counsel prevailed; to our great Comfort, thro’
‘ the Goodness of God.

‘ The Enemy took a Gentleman of Major
‘ Brown’s Troop Prisoner that Night we came
‘ to Haddington; and having Quarter through Lieu-
‘ tenant-General David Leslie’s Means, who, find-
‘ ing him a Man of Courage and Parts, laboured
‘ with him to take up Arms; but the Man expres-
‘ sing Constancy and Resolution to this Side, the
‘ Lieutenant-General caused him to be mounted;
‘ and.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ and with two Troopers to ride about to view
 ‘ their gallant Army, using that as an Argument
 ‘ to persuade him to their Side; and when this was
 ‘ done, dismissed him to us in a Bravery: And in-
 ‘ deed, the Day before we fought, they did ex-
 ‘ press so much Insolency and Contempt of us, to
 ‘ some Soldiers they took, as was beyond Appre-
 ‘ hension.

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Resolutions of
 the Parliament
 thereupon.

After reading all these Letters, the House re-
 solv'd, that the Council of State should give Or-
 ders for prosecuting the War in *Scotland* in the most
 effectual Manner, and prepare all Necessaries of
 Men, Money, Provisions, Medicines, Surgeons, &c.
 for that Purpose: That the 8th of *October* next be
 set apart as a Day of publick Thanksgiving for
 this great Victory, which God had vouchsafed to
 the Parliament's Forces: That all the Colours,
 both of Horse and Foot, now brought up from the
Scot's Army, together with those taken at *Preston*,
 when they invaded *England* in 1648, be invento-
 ried, with their respective Motto's and Devices, by
 the Clerk of the Parliament, and hung up on each
 Side of *Westminster-Hall*, as a Monument of this
 great Mercy, to Posterity: That the Council of
 State do prepare a Letter to be sign'd by the Speaker,
 and sent to the Lord General, in the Name of the
 Parliament, taking Notice of his eminent Services,
 with the special Acknowledgment and Thanks of
 the House; and that his Excellency be therein de-
 fired to return their Thanks also to the Officers
 and Soldiers of the Army; and that a Number of
 Gold and Silver Medals be distributed amongst
 them. Besides all this the House voted several
 Gratuities in Money to the Officers and other
 Messengers that brought the News of this impor-
 tant Victory: They also appointed a Committee
 to draw up a Narrative thereof, with an Act for
 ‘ ap-

appointing a Thanksgiving Day for the same; Inter-regnum.
which was pass'd in the following Terms: 1650.

September.

An Act for appointing a Thanksgiving Day on that Occasion.

IF any Nation in the World hath at this Day upon them mighty and strong Obligations unto the Lord, for his peculiar Manifestations of Mercy and Goodness unto them, wherein he hath filled with Admiration and Astonishment all that have been Spectators and Observers of the Out-goings of his Power, in Deliverances and Preservations, it is the Parliament and People of England; in the Midst of whom the Lord hath walked most eminently for these ten Years last past, and constantly exercised them by various and wonderful Providences; being pleased to make use of a few weak unworthy Instruments, contemptible in the Eyes of Men, to bring great Things to pass, and carry on his own Work, that the Power might appear to be of God, and not of Man; and this in the weakest and lowest Condition of his Servants, when we have been reduced to the greatest Straits, and had, as it were, the Sentence of Death in ourselves; and our Enemies heightened and hardened, by their Power and Multitudes, in their Confidences, even to Pride and Arrogance, ready to swallow us up, and destroy us: So that, upon most of the Victories vouchsafed unto us, there hath been written in broad and visible Characters, *This hath God wrought; thus far hath God helped us.*

And as it is the Duty of all Persons in this Common-wealth, especially those that fear the Lord, to observe these his marvellous and gracious Dispensations, and be taught by them not only to submit unto, and close with, the Actings and Appearances of the Lord, *who worketh all Things according to the Council of his own Will*; but to be enlarged in Rejoycings and thankful Acknowledgements, and to trust him in like Straits for Time to come; so the Memorial of such Mercies and glorious Deliverances of the Almighty

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ mighty deserve to be transmitted to Posterity,
‘ and for ever recorded unto his Praise.

‘ In the Number of these, and as that which
‘ may have the first Place, the Parliament is most
‘ exceedingly affected with the late wonderful and
‘ gracious Dealing of the Lord, towards their Ar-
‘ my under the Command of their present General,
‘ General *Cromwell*, in *Scotland*; and with the glo-
‘ rious Victory which he hath there wrought for
‘ them in an unexpected Season against the *Scots*;
‘ for which inestimable Blessing of God unto the
‘ Parliament and People of *England*, enriched
‘ with so many remarkable Circumstances, that all
‘ along evidence his Divine Presence, this Com-
‘ mon-wealth can never be sufficiently thankful;
‘ especially if it be considered, that in this is given
‘ in a Seal and Confirmation from Heaven, of the
‘ Justice of our Cause, and of the Sincerity of his
‘ Servants, that are his unworthy Instruments in
‘ the carrying of it on, after that most solemn Ap-
‘ peals were made on both Sides to God himself,
‘ the righteous Judge, in this necessitated War be-
‘ tween *England* and *Scotland*; and that all Means
‘ of Christian Love and Tenderness towards those
‘ that bear the Name of Godly in the *Scots* Na-
‘ tion, have been used to inform and persuade
‘ them, and prevent, if it had been the Will of
‘ God, a Decision by the Sword, and the same re-
‘ jected. And, indeed, such is the Riches and
‘ Fulness of this high and inexpressible Mercy,
‘ that the Value and Consequence thereof, is not
‘ in a short Time to be apprehended; but is of
‘ that Nature, as succeeding Generations will be
‘ tasting the Sweet and Good of it, as often as they
‘ look back upon it, and penetrate into it: For in
‘ the Bosom of it is comprehended the Safety of all
‘ that hath been fought for these many Years late
‘ past; and, together with this Victory, God
‘ hath renewed Being and Life itself to this Com-
‘ mon-wealth, and the Government thereof;
‘ whose total Ruin and Subversion was not only
‘ con-

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ contrived and designed, but almost ripened unto
 ‘ an Accomplishment, by all the Enemies of it, un-
 ‘ der the fairest Vizards and Disguises they could
 ‘ cloath themselves with; that is to say, of *the*
 ‘ *Cause of God, the Covenant and Privileges of*
 ‘ *Parliament*, the more easy to seduce and deceive
 ‘ a Party within this Nation, who lay waiting for
 ‘ it, and to concentre in one all the Strength that
 ‘ could be heap’d up together, of various destruc-
 ‘ tive Interests unto the Power of Godliness, and
 ‘ true Liberty and Freedom of the People, the
 ‘ Maintenance whereof is so much in the Desires
 ‘ and Endeavours of this Common-wealth.

‘ In this Combination the Popish, Prelatical,
 ‘ Profane, and Malignant Parties stood behind the
 ‘ Curtain, and seemed for a Season to be quite laid
 ‘ aside, that the Cause of God, the Covenant, and
 ‘ Work of Reformation might bear the Name, and
 ‘ the Promoters thereof the only Power and Sway,
 ‘ through whose seeming Credit and Authority our
 ‘ Hands might be weakned, our Cause blemished,
 ‘ and general Insurrections from all Parts of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* procured; and so obtain that through De-
 ‘ ceit and Hypocrisy joined with Power, which;
 ‘ by Force alone, they durst not attempt; as ha-
 ‘ ving found, by frequent and dear Experiences, the
 ‘ mighty Hand of God drawn out against them, as
 ‘ often soever as they appeared in a Way of mere
 ‘ and open Force. And now when the Design
 ‘ was thus subtilly and dangerously laid, and the E-
 ‘ nemy in his own Thoughts was in so fair a Way
 ‘ of accomplishing thereof, that they doubted no-
 ‘ thing less than of having our Army at their Mer-
 ‘ cy, and of marching up to *London* without Oppo-
 ‘ sition, with their new King at the Head of theirs,
 ‘ the following Narrative will declare how suddenly
 ‘ the Lord turned himself against them, and arose
 ‘ *like a Giant refreshed with Wine*, bestowing upon
 ‘ *England* the most seasonable and wonderful Vic-
 ‘ tory over his Enemies, that it hath ever known,
 ‘ or been made Partaker of.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

The NARRATIVE.

‘ After the March of our Army into Scotland, upon the Grounds of Justice and Necessity, and in the Prosecution of those Ends heretofore declared by us; and that all Means had been used by the General and his Council of War for to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and bringing the Guilt of it upon their own Heads, which they might incur upon their Obstinacy:

‘ The Enemy mistaking the Grounds of our March, took Courage on a sudden, persuading themselves we now durst not engage with them, as verily imagining we had with our sick Men shipp’d away our Ordnance already, which was indeed only sent with a Party before towards Haddington; and having been informed that we intended, after we were come to Dunbar, to send away all our Infantry by Sea, and with our Horse to return back into England; between which and our Quarters then they knew there were many Passes, where they might have an Advantage easily to annoy us, &c.

‘ Here begun the Pride of the Scots Army so to swell, as they quite forgot an over-ruling Providence, their Scouts upbraiding us, They now had us safe enough, and that though they had afforded us a Summer’s Quarters, they hop’d to have it quickly repaid them, when they came to take up their Winter Quarters; intending, as they said, to convoy up our Rear for us to London: Yea, so far had their Passion blinded them, and their Presumption prevailed upon them, that, as we were informed by some of their own, they sat in Consultation what Conditions it was fit they should offer us; whether or no Quarter was to be allow’d to any for their Lives; and to whom only, and upon what Terms: And indeed many were the Difficulties that it pleased the Lord at that Time to set before our Army; the Ground the Enemy had gotten being inaccessible, and not possible for us to engage him upon without apparent Hazard, &c.

‘ The

The serious Consideration of all which, as it doth give the Parliament Cause of great Thankfulness unto God for this his unspeakable Goodness; so they do most earnestly desire that the whole Nation, together with themselves, may be deeply sensible of the same; and therefore they do enact and ordain, &c.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
September.

Sept. 11. The Doors of the House being ordered to be kept shut 'till Twelve, *inter alia*, a Report was made from the Council of State, That, in pursuance of the late Order of Parliament for sending the two Children of the late King out of the Commonwealth, the Council had sent them to the Isle of *Wight*: That the Lady *Elizabeth* was at present indisposed; that she had some Inclination to go to her Sister, the Princess of *Orange*, which the Council think fit she should; and that, for her Maintenance, she be allowed 1000 *l.* a-year, paid half-yearly, so long as she shall behave herself inoffensively to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and half a Year's Allowance before-hand; and that, in the mean Time, 'till she could be shipp'd away, her Maintenance and Transportation might be provided for by the Committee of the Revenue.

But, whilst the Report was making concerning this Provision for the unhappy Princess, we are told, by the *Journals*, That the House was informed the Lady *Elizabeth* was dead*. She died at *Carisbrooke-Castle*, in the Isle of *Wight*, within a Week after her and her Brother's Arrival in that Place, of what Distemper is easy to judge. Her Father's unhappy Fate, and her own Imprisonment, which she might expect to be perpetual, were Strokes too deep for her to bear. The House, however, on this Information, gave Orders to the Committee of Revenue for her Interment in the said Island, and for providing Mourning for her Brother *Henry*, his Servants now with him, and the Servants of the said Lady.

The Princess *Elizabeth* being dead, the Parliament give Orders for her Funeral,

Z 3

Ans-

* She was born December 28, 1631.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

And vote 1500*l.*
per Annum, for
the Maintenance
of her Brother,
Prince Henry.

Another Part of the Report related to the young Prince *Henry*; that he should be sent by some Ship to his Brother in *Scotland*, and to have 1000*l.* a-year, paid half-yearly, for his Maintenance, so long as he should behave himself inoffensively to the Commonwealth. But this Advice was rejected by the House; and, after some Debate, it was resolved that 1500*l.* a-year be allowed from the Commonwealth of *England* unto *Henry* the third Son of the late King, for his Maintenance; and that he be sent to be brought up and educated in the University of *Heidelberg*.

Sept. 12. This Day we meet with, in the *Journals*, a Report from the Committee of the Navy, of an Estimate of putting out a Winter Guard of Ships: But having already given some Specimens of this Kind of Estimates, we pass over that now before us.

Sept. 17. The King's Declaration from *Scotland* has been mentioned, and that an Answer to it was ordered to be drawn up, and brought into the House for their Approbation. Accordingly the said Answer was this Day presented and read, first at large and afterwards by Parts; and each Part being put to the Question, was assented to, with some Amendments; on which a Division of the House happen'd, (if we may call that a House which consisted only of 36 Members, 20 against 16) and the Debate was put off to next Day.

Accordingly, *Sept. 18*, this Debate was resum'd; and the Answer, after some more Amendments at the Table, was passed, and ordered to be printed and published, together with the King's Declaration, Paragraph by Paragraph.

Sept. 20. The House being informed that Mr. *Rushworth*, Secretary to the Lord-General in *Scotland*, was at the Door, he was called in, and made a Relation of the State and Condition of the Parliament's Army in that Kingdom. *Cromwell* had now followed his Blow at *Dunbar* so well as not only to take

take both *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, but had likewise laid Siege to the Castle. The Secretary also delivered to the House Copies of four Letters found in Lord *Loudon's* Cabinet after the Battle; which were all read, and ordered to be printed and published at the latter End of the Declaration and Answer above-mentioned.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
September.

All these are in our Collection; and since they contain a curious and succinct History of these Times, no where else to be met with that we know of, they deserve reprinting here, without any Apology for the Length of them. The Introduction runs thus :

‘ IT is well known unto the World what Manner of Contest the Parliament of *England* hath had, these Years last past, in their own Defence, to preserve themselves from the almost-establish’d Tyranny which, through a long Tract of Time, had been obtruding itself, as well over the Consciences as the Laws and Civil Liberties of the People in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*; designing and practising the Extremity of all Evils upon these Nations, rather than to suffer itself to be stopp’d in its Course, or disappointed of its End : Else what signified the first Troubles raised in *Scotland* by the late King, and, that failing, then the cherishing, upholding, and continuing, to the last, the horrid and bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the same Hand ; and, after all, the bringing of an unnatural War into the Bowels of this Nation, managed and improved to the utmost by him and the Popish, Prelatical, and Profane Party adhering to him therein ? Which Evils have been writ out in such deep Characters of Blood, been attended with such Consumption of Treasure, and almost Devastation of several Countries in the three Nations, that they will not suddenly be worn out of the People’s Sense, much less of their Memory.

‘ Yet, even during these Troubles, the Designers were not ashamed to appear bare-faced, in their
‘ open

The King’s late Declaration, with the Parliament’s Answer thereto.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September

‘ open and avowed Principles of Opposition and
 ‘ Hatred against the Cause of God, the Work of
 ‘ Reformation, Privileges of Parliament, and
 ‘ People’s Liberties; having, for that Purpose, in-
 ‘ corporated themselves in Interest with all the
 ‘ known and implacable Enemies of the same; as,
 ‘ the Popish Party abroad, and Prelatical and Ma-
 ‘ lignant Party at home.

‘ But now when, by the unspeakable Blessing of
 ‘ God unto this Nation, Tyranny hath received
 ‘ its mortal Wound, not only by being beaten out
 ‘ of the Field, in all that have fought for it, but by
 ‘ the remarkable Justice that hath been done upon
 ‘ the prime Instrument, in the late King’s Execu-
 ‘ tion; and, in consequence thereof, the Govern-
 ‘ ment of this Nation restor’d to a Commonwealth,
 ‘ and Free State, and the Supreme Authority esta-
 ‘ blished in this and successive Parliaments or Re-
 ‘ presentatives of the People, without King or
 ‘ House of Lords, as the best Means and strongest
 ‘ Bulwark, under the Divine Protection, to preserve
 ‘ the People’s Liberties against the like Attempts
 ‘ and Invasions for Time to come, and so deprived
 ‘ of all Hopes of its ever taking Root again in this
 ‘ Commonwealth; and being like also, if this
 ‘ Commonwealth continue, to lose Ground in *Scot-*
 ‘ *land* and other Nations, where the People are made
 ‘ meer Slaves and Vassals to the Will of their Prince,
 ‘ and his lordly Instruments in Church and State:

‘ It hath seemed good to *Charles Stuart*, the de-
 ‘ clared King of *Scotland*, and to the prevailing
 ‘ Party in State and Kirk there, to dress up this old
 ‘ and malignant Cause in a more plausible and re-
 ‘ ligious Garb than that with which it was put
 ‘ forth before; and to take it out of, or rather for
 ‘ a Time suspend its Exercise in, the Hands of the
 ‘ Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, who
 ‘ begin also to see they can keep it up no longer,
 ‘ but it will certainly breathe out its last Gasps, if
 ‘ it be not shifted, and, by some Change of Instru-
 ‘ ments, recover a Reputation amongst good Men;
 ‘ and therefore a Room and Place is made, by

‘ com-

common Consent amongst them, to receive and
hide the Interest of Tyranny, and of Opposition
to all Christian as well as Civil Liberty, within
the Verges of the Solemn League and Covenant:
The signing of which Covenant, and the emitting
of a Declaration, by the eldest Son of the late
King, expressing, in Words, a superficial Re-
pentance for what there is no Probability for him
at the present to put in Practice; and promising,
in effect, for the future, to tyrannize and enslave
Men chiefly by the Advice of the Kirk, and as
shall tend to uphold their Power and Clergy-In-
terest, in the first Place, before his own; an Ho-
mage which the Pope indeed hath claimed from
earthly Princes, as that which is due to him, as
he pretends himself God's Vicar on Earth!

Inter-regnum
1650.
September.

This is now accounted full Satisfaction, as to
what is to be done on his Part; and whereupon
they would make the World believe the State
of the Cause is altered, even to that Degree, as
that their new King is now no longer upon his
old Principles; but is come over to those upon
which they have fought against his Father for
these twelve Years past. The Deceit and Evil
of all which will appear when we shall come to
take in Pieces the said Declaration, and thereby
unmask, as we have promised, the gross Hypo-
crisy of the Contrivers thereof, and the wicked
Design that is couched and contained therein,
under Pretence of the Name and Cause of God;
the Work of Reformation; the Power and Free-
dom of Parliaments in *England*, according to
their antient Form, except only a perpetual sub-
jecting and subordinating of their Laws, Coun-
sels, and Advices to the Clergy, who have a Pro-
mise, That their Counsels shall be heard before
any other whatsoever, and other plausible Induce-
ments to possess himself of the Crown of *England*;
and having obtained that Power, with the De-
struction of all the faithful and truly godly Party,
that have declared themselves for this present Go-
vernment, he may then be more absolute in Ty-
ranny

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September,

‘ ranny than ever Prince in *England* was, and de-
 ‘ rive the same in Succession to his Posterity, upon
 ‘ the Score of Conquest acquired to him by the
 ‘ Help of the *Scots*; whose Good-will to *England*
 ‘ (for the Cause of God, as they would have us
 ‘ believe) hath been and still is such, as to hold it
 ‘ fit to impose upon us the Yoke of their Usurpa-
 ‘ tions both in Church and State, and have not
 ‘ scrupled to attempt the attaining of the same, ei-
 ‘ ther by Subtilty or Force: By both which Means
 ‘ they never thought themselves in so fair a Way
 ‘ unto their End, as now they have cast themselves
 ‘ into by their late Agreement with their new King;
 ‘ and this Declaration they have made him put
 ‘ forth^a, which we shall answer in the distinct Pa-
 ‘ ragraphs of it, in Order as they lie.

SECTION I.

*His Majesty, taking into Consideration that mer-
 ciful Dispensation of Divine Providence, by which he
 hath been recovered out of the Snare of evil Counsel;
 and having attained so full Persuasion and Confidence
 of the Loyalty of his People in Scotland, with whom
 he hath too long stood at a Distance; and of the Righ-
 zeousness of their Cause, as to join in one Covenant
 with them, and to cast himself and his Interests
 wholly upon God; and, in all Matters Civil, to fol-
 low the Advice of his Parliament, and such as shall
 be intrusted by them; and, in all Matters Ecclesiastic,
 the Advice of the General Assembly and their Commis-
 sioners; and being sensible of his Duty to God, and
 desirous to approve himself to the Consciences of all
 his good Subjects, and to stop the Mouths of his and
 their Enemies and Traducers, doth, in reference to
 his former Deportments, and as to his Resolutions
 for the future, declare as follows:*

ANSWER.

‘ The Dispensations of Divine Providence are
 ‘ indeed merciful, by which Princes or Governors
 ‘ are

^a This Copy of the King's Declaration has been collated by the original Edition, printed at *Edinburgh*, with which it agrees exactly. It was also reprinted at *Aberdeen*, and at the *Hague* by *Samuel Brown*. All which Editions are in our Collection.

are, at any Time really recovered out of the Snare
of evil Counsel; yet when this is done by the
Violence of an absolute Necessity, it is seldom
real or lasting; and then the Mercy in it is but
little to the People, who will taste the bitter
Fruit of such Dissimulations when it is too late.

It seems that the King of Scotland can now profess to the World *he hath been in the Snare of evil Counsel, whilst he entertained any Doubts or Diffidence of the Loyalty of his People of Scotland; and stood at a Distance from them and their Cause; and was unconvinced of the Righteousness of it; and did not join in one Covenant with them, nor cast himself and his Interests wholly upon God; and, in all Matters Civil, follow the Advice of his Parliament; and, in all Matters Ecclesiastic, the General Assembly, or the Commissioners thereof.*

We do not deny but his former Councils, as well as himself, have suffered a great Change, through the merciful Dispensation of Divine Providence to this Commonwealth prospering so wonderfully our Armies in Ireland, as to exclude him and his Interest in a great Measure from thence, and preserving this Nation in Peace within itself, to prevent any Footing to be given to him here; whereby he was reduced to the Course he hath now taken, to say what the Parliament and Kirk of Scotland shall put into his Mouth, and tell him is fit for him and his Affairs to declare, or else to lose all. And if Scotland do esteem it so great a Mercy, to have him reduced to this pure Necessity of casting himself into their Arms, we know to whom, under God, they owe the Obligation; a Blessing which, we confess, we do not envy them, and which, were we secured never to be Partaker of with them, or by their Means, we should not hinder them from the free and full Enjoyment of; having, by sad Experience, found what it is to have a King, though never so well beset in Appearance with good Men about him, or to trust to his Repentances and Promises, Oaths or Declarations,

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ rations, how fair soever in Shew, and how strong
 ‘ soever laid down in Words.

‘ As to the Evil of the Counsel, out of which, its
 ‘ said, *he is recovered by this Change*; we say, That
 ‘ if the future Resolutions, mention’d in this Decla-
 ‘ ration, be the Evidences whereby we are to judge
 ‘ of the Goodness of the new Counsel, we cannot
 ‘ but take Notice, that they do only vary the Means,
 ‘ but not the End, which still is evil, to wit, The
 ‘ enslaving the three Nations; and do change the
 ‘ Instruments, but not the Causes, as is before, and
 ‘ shall further be, made evident; and therefore we
 ‘ must be excused, if we judge that their young
 ‘ King is yet in as great a Snare of evil Counsel as
 ‘ ever, and thereupon endeavour, what in us lies,
 ‘ to keep this Nation from falling under the bad
 ‘ Effects thereof.

SECTION II.

*Though his Majesty, as a dutiful Son, be obliged
 to honour the Memory of his Royal Father, and
 have in Estimation the Person of his Mother, yet
 doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in
 Spirit before God, because of his Father's hearkening
 to, and following, evil Counsels, and his Opposition
 to the Work of Reformation, and to the Solemn
 League and Covenant, by which so much of the
 Blood of the Lord's People hath been shed in these
 Kingdoms; and for the Idolatry of his Mother,
 the Toleration whereof in the King's House, as it
 was Matter of great Stumbling to all the Protestant
 Churches, so could it not but be an high Provoca-
 tion against him who is a jealous God; visiting the
 Sins of the Fathers upon the Children: And albeit
 his Majesty might extenuate his former Carriages
 and Actions, in following of the Advice, and walk-
 ing in the Way, of those who are opposite to the
 Covenant and to the Work of God, and might ex-
 cuse his delaying to give Satisfaction to the just
 and necessary Desires of the Kirk and Kingdom of
 Scotland, from his Education, and Age, and evil
 Counsel, and Company; and from the strange and*
 in-

insolent Proceedings of Sectaries against his Royal Father, and in reference to Religion and the ancient Government of the Kingdom of England, to which he hath the undoubted Right of Succession; yet knowing that he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknowledge all his own Sins, and all the Sins of his Father's House; craving Pardon, and hoping for Mercy and Reconciliation, through the Blood of Jesus Christ.

Inter-regnum
1650.

September.

And as he doth value the constant Addresses that were made by his People to the Throne of Grace on his Behalf, when he stood in Opposition to the Work of God, as a singular Testimony of Long-suffering, Patience, and Mercy upon the Lord's Part, and Loyalty upon theirs; so doth he hope, and shall take it as one of the greatest Tokens of their Love and Affection to him and to his Government, that they will continue in Prayer and Supplication to God for him, that the Lord, who spared and preserved him to this Day, notwithstanding all his own Guiltiness, may be at Peace with him, and give him to fear the Lord his God, and to serve him with a perfect Heart, and with a willing Mind, all the Days of his Life.

ANSWER.

*' The first Testimony of the Good of the new
' Councils, into whose Hands the Scots King hath
' cast himself, is, the Repentance towards God, which
' they advise him to make, in reference to his own
' Sins, and the Sins of his Father's House; a Mat-
' ter in itself truly praise-worthy, and the Conse-
' quence whereof, in the Words wherein it is ex-
' press'd, doth in no small Measure reach to the
' Acknowledgement of the just Hand of God upon
' his Father and Mother, in the banishing of the
' one, and taking away the Life of the other by
' the Hand of Justice; putting it into the Hearts
' of those here, that remained faithful to their
' Trust in Parliament, to cause his Blood to be
' poured forth, by whose personal Actings, Autho-
' rity, and Commissions, so much of the Blood of
' the*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ the Lord’s People hath been shed in the three
‘ Nations, as this Declaration itself acknowledges;
‘ and for which therefore we have Reason to bless
‘ God, and admire his Providence, that out of the
‘ Mouth of the Son there hath, in the Sight of the
‘ whole World, been brought forth such a Justifi-
‘ cation of the Sentence passed and executed upon
‘ the Father.

‘ But as to the Manner of declaring this his Re-
‘ pentance, that is to say, with the Qualifications
‘ therein allowed of; whereby, under the Pretence
‘ of a dutiful Son, he may still retain in Memory
‘ his Father’s Actions of Tyranny for his Pattern;
‘ and, through the high Estimation of his Mother,
‘ have his Ears still open to her Counsels, as often
‘ as she can convey them to him: And as sensible
‘ as he must be of his own and his Father’s En-
‘ mity and Opposition against the Lord’s People
‘ in the three Nations; yet he must still be encour-
‘ aged to persist in the same against those that are
‘ truly the Lord’s People, under the Pretence of
‘ Sectaries: These are such Inconsistences and
‘ Haltings in so serious a Work, that as it is justly
‘ to be feared that God will not be well pleased
‘ therewith, so neither will it have its expected
‘ Effect amongst Men; who, with Ease, may
‘ see through the Deceit and Lameness of it, and
‘ will, with greater Abhorrency, be aware of them
‘ and their Designs that strive to cover themselves
‘ with Webs that will not prove Garments, but
‘ whose Nakedness doth still appear.’

SECTION III.

*And his Majesty having, upon full Persuasion of
the Justice and Equity of all the Heads and Arti-
cles thereof, now sworn and subscribed the National
Covenant of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the So-
lemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms
of Scotland, England, and Ireland, doth declare,
That he hath not sworn and subscribed these Cove-
nants, and entered into the Oath of God with his
People, upon any sinister Intention and crooked De-
sign,*

sign, for attaining his own Ends; but, so far as human Weakness will permit, in the Truth and Sincerity of his Heart; and that he is firmly resolved, in the Lord's Strength, to adhere thereunto, and to prosecute, to the utmost of his Power, all the Ends thereof, in his Station and Calling, really, constantly, and sincerely all the Days of his Life. In order to which he doth, in the first Place, profess and declare, That he will have no Enemies, but the Enemies of the Covenant; and that he will have no Friends, but the Friends of the Covenant: And, therefore, as he doth now detest and abhor all Popery, Superstition and Idolatry, together with Prelacy, and all Errors, Heresy, Schism, and Profaneness, and resolves not to tolerate, much less allow, any of these in any Part of his Majesty's Dominions; but to oppose himself thereto, and to endeavour the Extirpation thereof to the utmost of his Power; so doth he, as a Christian, exhort, and, as a King, require, that all such of his Subjects, who have stood in Opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and Work of Reformation, upon a Pretence of Kingly Interest, or any other Pretext whatsoever, to lay down their Enmity against the Cause and People of God, and to cease to prefer the Interest of Man to the Interest of God; which hath been one of those Things which hath occasioned many Troubles and Calamities in these Kingdoms; and, being insisted on, will be so far from establishing of the King's Throne, that it will prove an Idol of Jealousy, to provoke unto Wrath him who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

First, The King shall always esteem them best Servants, and most loyal Subjects, who serve him, and seek his Greatness, in a right Line of Subordination unto God; Giving unto God the Things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's: And resolveth not to love or countenance any who have so little Conscience and Piety, as to follow his Interests with a Prejudice to the Gospel and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; which he looks not upon as a Duty, but as Flattery, and driving of
Self-

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

Self-Designs, under Pretence of maintaining Royal Authority and Greatness.

Secondly, His Majesty being convinced in Conscience of the exceeding great Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and Peace made with the bloody Irish Rebels, who treacherously shed the Blood of so many of his faithful and loyal Subjects in Ireland, and of allowing unto them the Liberty of the Popish Religion; for the which he doth from his Heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord; and likewise, considering how many Breaches have been made upon their Part, doth declare the same to be void, and that his Majesty is absolved therefrom; being truly sorry that he should have sought unto so unlawful Help for restoring of him to his Throne; and resolving, for the Time to come, rather to chuse Affliction than Sin.

Thirdly, As his Majesty did, in the late Treaty with his People in this Kingdom, agree to recall and annull all Commissions against any of his Subjects who did adhere to the Covenant and Monarchical Government in any of his Kingdoms; so doth he now declare, That, by commissionating some Persons by Sea against the People of England, he did not intend Damage or Injury to his oppress'd and harmless Subjects in that Kingdom, who followed their Trade of Merchandize in their lawful Callings; but only the opposing and suppressing of those who had usurped the Government, and not only bar him from his just Right, but also exercise an arbitrary Power over his People, in those Things which concern their Persons, Consciences, and Estates: And as since his coming into Scotland he hath given no Commissions against any of his Subjects in England or Ireland, so he doth hereby assure and declare, that he will give none to their Prejudice or Damage; and whatever shall be the Wrongs of these Usurpers, that he will be so far from avenging these upon any, who are free thereof, by interrupting or stopping the Liberty of Trade and Merchandize, or otherwise, that he will seek their Good, and to the utmost

utmost, employ his Royal Power, that they may be protected and defended against the unjust Violence of all Men whatsoever.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

And albeit his Majesty desires to construct well of the Intentions of those, in reference to his Majesty, who have been active in Council or Arms against the Covenant; yet, being convinced that it doth conduce for the Honour of God, the Good of his Cause, and his own Honour and Happiness, and for the Peace and Safety of these Kingdoms, that such be not employed in Places of Power and Trust, he doth declare, that he will not employ, nor give Commissions to, any such, untill they have not only taken or renewed the Covenant, but also have given sufficient Evidences of their Integrity, Carriage, and Affection to the Work of Reformation, and shall be declared capable of Trust by the Parliament of either Kingdom respectively. And his Majesty, upon the same Grounds, doth hereby recall all Commissions given to any such Persons; conceiving all such Persons will so much tender a good Understanding betwixt him and his Subjects, and the settling and preserving a firm Peace in these Kingdoms, that they will not grudge nor repine at his Majesty's Resolutions and Proceedings herein, much less, upon Discontent, act any Thing in a divided Way, unto the raising of new Troubles; especially since, upon their pious and good Deportment, there is a Regress left unto them in Manner above express'd.

ANSWER.

' It is somewhat early Days for him, who, by
' reason of his Education and Age, and the Coun-
' sel and Company hitherto about him, could not
' be much furthered into the Sight of the Justice
' and Equity of what is contained in the Covenants
' mentioned; presently, that is to say, in the Space
' of almost twenty-four Hours, to grow up into
' the full Persuasion of the Justice and Equity of
' all the Heads and Articles of those Covenants,
' and to be able to declare, That he hath not sworn
' nor subscribed them upon any sinister Intention and

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ *crooked Design for attaining his own Ends; and*
‘ *with so fix’d a Resolution to persist therein really,*
‘ *constantly, and sincerely all the Days of his Life;*
‘ *when as the Commissioners of the General As-*
‘ *sembly, in their Declaration, dated the 13th of*
‘ *August, do say, That there may be just Grounds*
‘ *of stumbling from his refusing to emit this De-*
‘ *claration; and do tell him in so many Words,*
‘ *That they will not own him nor his Interest, other-*
‘ *wise than with a Subordination to God, and in so*
‘ *far as he owns and prosecutes the Cause of God, and*
‘ *disclaims his and his Father’s Opposition to the*
‘ *Work of God, and to the Covenant, and all the*
‘ *Enemies thereof; and notwithstanding all, he still*
‘ *persists in his Refusal, withdrawing to Dumferm-*
‘ *ling, whither the Marquis of Argyre and Earl of*
‘ *Lothian are sent after to press him to subscribe;*
‘ *and, in the mean Time, Overtures are made*
‘ *under-hand to our Army, as if Things might yet*
‘ *be made up in a fair Way, and their King and*
‘ *they were not likely to agree: And, on the 15th*
‘ *of August, a Remonstrance and Supplication of*
‘ *the Officers of the Scots Army, by way of se-*
‘ *conding the foresaid Declaration of the Commit-*
‘ *tee of Estates and Commissioners of the General*
‘ *Assembly, was presented to, and approv’d of by,*
‘ *the Committee of Estates; and on the 16th of*
‘ *the said August, the Declaration so earnestly pres-*
‘ *sed upon him, or rather forcibly extorted from*
‘ *him, is subscribed and emitted by him.*

‘ And now, in a Moment, what a blessed and
‘ hopeful Change is wrought upon this young King?
‘ How hearty is he become to the Cause of God,
‘ and the Work of Reformation? And how rea-
‘ dily doth he swallow down these bitter Pills which
‘ are prepared for and urg’d upon him, as neces-
‘ sary to effect that desperate Cure under which his
‘ Affairs lie? But who sees not the gross Hypocri-
‘ sy of this whole Transaction, and the sandy and
‘ rotten Foundation of all the Resolutions flowing
‘ hereupon? As first, He that, on the 15th of *Au-*
‘ *gust, hugg’d all his Malignant and Popish Party*
‘ in

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

in his Bosom, and lodged them in the secret Re-
serves of his Favour and Love as his best Friends,
can now, on the 16th, the Day following, from
a Fulness of Persuasion of the Justice and Equity
of all the Heads and Articles of the Covenant,
renounce and discard them in the Sight of God
and the World, and vow never to have any more
to do with them, as old Sinners, unless they, by
his Example, turn to be as good Converts as
himself, and be able to personate and act the
same Part; and so, by virtue of the very Cove-
nant itself, eat out and undermine those who con-
scientiously and honestly intend the Ends of it.
The sad Experience whereof, was as well seen in
the managing the whole Business of the Duke of
Hamilton's Invasion, as in many of the then
Members in both Houses; who never shewed
more Zeal for the Covenant, than when they
found that thereby they could suppress and beat
down the truly godly and honest Party, as Secta-
ries and Enemies to Monarchical Government,
and buoy up the sinking and lost Reputations of
the most engaged Royalists and rotten-hearted
Apostates, under Pretence that they were turn'd
Friends to the Work of Reformation, and for
upholding the Church Interest. And if, in this
Sense, the Scots King *will have no Enemies, but
the Enemies of the Covenant; nor no Friends, but
the Friends of the Covenant*, he makes but little
Change; for he hath the same Friends and Ene-
mies that he had before, with this only Difference,
that by his and his Party's becoming, in Appear-
ance, Friends to the Covenant for a while, they
have the Opportunity at the last to make Use of
this Engine, the better to undermine and oppose
the true Ends of the Covenant, than by a flat Op-
position to it: And, to obtain a Crown, what
Diffimulation is not thought lawful by Politicians?
Though a larger Measure than what is held
forth in this Declaration, cannot easily be instan-
ced; and which therefore we doubt not but
God, *who is the Searcher of the Hearts, and Trier*

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ of the Reins, will proceed further to discover
 ‘ in the Face of the Sun, and more severely
 ‘ judge in this new King of Scots and his House,
 ‘ than if he had dealt plainly with God and Man,
 ‘ and held himself forth in his own Colours. The
 ‘ little Time which he hath been upon the Stage
 ‘ having sufficiently laid him open what he is, a
 ‘ true Inheritor of his Father’s Principles and
 ‘ Counsels, wherein he may be traced all along;
 ‘ and even in this last Action, wherein he hath
 ‘ trod in the Steps of his Father, as well as other
 ‘ his Predecessors; who, whenever they found
 ‘ themselves in Scotland beset with the Power
 ‘ of the Kirk and State, did subscribe and emit
 ‘ whatever was press’d upon them, though they re-
 ‘ solved to break all that ever was so done by them
 ‘ upon the first Occasion.

‘ And as a second Deduction from his full Per-
 ‘ suasion of the Justice and Equity of all the Heads
 ‘ and Articles of the Covenant, he declares his
 ‘ Conviction in Conscience of the exceeding great
 ‘ Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and
 ‘ Peace made with the bloody Irish Rebels, and of al-
 ‘ lowing to them the Liberty of the Popish Religion;
 ‘ and that he is resolved, for the Time to come, ra-
 ‘ ther to choose Affliction than Sin. It seems very
 ‘ much to be doubted, if the Irish Bishop of Clog-
 ‘ her, armed with a Commission from Ormond,
 ‘ Charles Stuart’s pretended Lieutenant of Ireland,
 ‘ had, with his Army of Irish Popish Rebels, found-
 ‘ ed upon a pure Popish Account, succeeded and
 ‘ prevailed against our Army in Ulster, under Sir
 ‘ Charles Coote, whether then that which is now con-
 ‘ fessed, and resolved against as sinful and unlawful,
 ‘ would have been so acknowledged, or thought
 ‘ Wisdom, perhaps, so to have been by the Kirk
 ‘ of Scotland itself; considering that the said Bi-
 ‘ shop offered very fair Quarter to all of the Scots
 ‘ Nation that were for Monarchical Government;
 ‘ and the Scots Clergy in those Parts had about the
 ‘ same Time stirr’d up the People in our Quarters
 ‘ to Mutiny and Rebellion, insomuch that Sir
 ‘ Charles

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ Charles Coot was necessitated to secure their Per-
 ‘ sons ; as if they had done it on purpose to pre-
 ‘ pare the Way to usher in the Infall upon our
 ‘ Quarters, to destroy our Forces by that *Irish* Ar-
 ‘ my, who pitched their Opposition chiefly against
 ‘ such as they called Sectaries ; being indeed such
 ‘ as declared for the Parliament of the Common-
 ‘ wealth of *England*. But when Sin doth not pro-
 ‘ sper, it is no Wonder if it be bewail’d ; and if it
 ‘ lose its Power, it is no Marvel if it lose also its
 ‘ Credit, even with the best Friends to it. It is
 ‘ fit Popery and the bloody Rebellion of *Ireland*
 ‘ should be renounced, and the *Scots* King absolv’d
 ‘ from any further Hand in it, considering the
 ‘ many Breaches, or rather Failings, on their
 ‘ Parts, now that, through the Blessing of God
 ‘ upon the Sectarian Army in that Nation, as they
 ‘ call them, the Rebels have been disinabled to
 ‘ keep themselves in Power, and maintain his In-
 ‘ terest there ; which we have good Reason to be-
 ‘ lieve is yet a greater Affliction to him, in his so-
 ‘ ber Thoughts, than he finds it to be Sin ; for, as
 ‘ we are credibly inform’d, *Ormond* and *Inchiquin*
 ‘ were very lately departing out of *Ireland*, and
 ‘ giving up all there ; but, by very fresh Direc-
 ‘ tions and Commands from the *Scots* King out of
 ‘ *Scotland*, they are required to stay and promote
 ‘ his Interest there : In pursuance of which the said
 ‘ *Ormond* is as busy as ever giving out Commissions
 ‘ among the *Irish*, whether as Friends to the Co-
 ‘ venant or no, we shall leave the World to
 ‘ judge.

‘ The third and last Effect of the *Scots* King’s
 ‘ full Persuasion of the Justice and Equity of all the
 ‘ Heads and Articles of the Covenant, is his recall-
 ‘ ing all Commissions formerly given for infesting the
 ‘ Seas with Piracies and Depredations, and Reso-
 ‘ lutions, for the future, to employ none in such
 ‘ Power and Trust untill they have renewed the Co-
 ‘ venant, and be declared capable of such Trust by
 ‘ the Parliament, as more at large is afore recited

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ in the Clause itself. It is to be observed, (as
 ‘ little Justice and Necessity as the *Scots* pretend
 ‘ there was of sending our Army into *Scotland*) that
 ‘ here is now acknowledg’d by their King, for him-
 ‘ self and them also, that the *Scots* have treated and
 ‘ concluded with their King, on the Behalf of the
 ‘ People of *England* and *Ireland*, as well as *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, and have taken upon them (we presume,
 ‘ by virtue of the Covenant) to interest themselves,
 ‘ in the highest Degree, in the Laws and Liberties
 ‘ of *England*; and have laid the Ground-work of
 ‘ a new War, to be carried on principally by them-
 ‘ selves in this Nation; declaring for such as adhere
 ‘ to the Covenant and Monarchical Government,
 ‘ and against such as (without Opposition to the
 ‘ Covenant) are for this Commonwealth as it is
 ‘ now establish’d, without King or House of Lords;
 ‘ and yet have the Confidence to appeal to God
 ‘ how innocent they are of giving us any Cause to
 ‘ send an Army into *Scotland*, in our Defence, and
 ‘ to keep off this deep-designed War from our own
 ‘ Doors, as long, at least, as God shall enable us
 ‘ thereunto. Will not God judge such under-hand
 ‘ Dealing as this? We are assured he will, as he hath
 ‘ begun already of late most wonderfully and sea-
 ‘ sonably to do: And he that thus brings it to Light
 ‘ out of their own Mouths, gives us Hope that, in
 ‘ his due Time, he will return it with Shame and
 ‘ Loss upon their own Heads, who have adventu-
 ‘ red on such bold Undertakings, to which they
 ‘ were never called; but are most perfectly uncon-
 ‘ cerned, any further than they are drawn and in-
 ‘ ticed thereunto by inordinate lusting after the
 ‘ Conquest of this Nation, and establishing them-
 ‘ selves in the Wealth and Power thereof.

‘ But to make all fair and smooth to those that
 ‘ are apt to be deluded and misled, and to engage
 ‘ them in a new War against their native Country,
 ‘ their new-converted King declares, *That, by*
 ‘ *commissionating Persons at Sea to commit Piracy*
 ‘ *and Depredations, for the Interruption of Trade,*
 ‘ he

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ he intends no Damage nor Injury to his harmless
 ‘ and oppressed Subjects; but only to his Enemies
 ‘ (which now are none but those that are Enemies
 ‘ to the Covenant and Monarchical Government);
 ‘ and that he resolves to employ none in such Trust
 ‘ untill they have renewed the Covenant, and been
 ‘ declared capable of that Trust by Parliament; and
 ‘ therefore doth, in Words, recall all Commis-
 ‘ sions given to any such Persons: But when all this
 ‘ is done, how are the former Evils committed at
 ‘ Sea, to the Interruption and Destruction of
 ‘ Trade, remedied by this, or the Parties injured,
 ‘ repaired? When War was acted by the Duke of
 ‘ *Hamilton* upon the Lives and Estates of this Na-
 ‘ tion, and none therein were employed but such
 ‘ as took the Covenant, and were declared fit for
 ‘ that Trust by the Parliament of *Scotland*, who
 ‘ commanded that Invasion, were the Evils of War
 ‘ less upon the *English*, or the Crime less in those
 ‘ that acted them? Do such Resolutions as these
 ‘ vary the State of the War, and of the Cause;
 ‘ or do they only change the Method and Circum-
 ‘ stances of moving and proceeding to the same
 ‘ End? We hope it is too late now to mislead any
 ‘ of the Well-affected with Blinds of this Na-
 ‘ ture, by which they have once been cozen’d be-
 ‘ fore, and whereby they may assure themselves
 ‘ they shall be deceived a second Time, if the Ca-
 ‘ valiers, and purely Royal Party, do but lay hold
 ‘ of the Expedient offered to them; which is, by a
 ‘ feigned pious and good Deportment, to make
 ‘ themselves capable of a Regress into their former
 ‘ Employments, upon the cheap Terms of swal-
 ‘ lowing down the Covenant, and the obtaining the
 ‘ Approbation of as full and free a Parliament as
 ‘ that which authorized the Invasion of this Nation
 ‘ by the Duke of *Hamilton*. And still, who knows
 ‘ not what such a Declaration as this signifies to
 ‘ those that have Commissions to rob and spoil, and
 ‘ perhaps better understand *Charles Stuart’s* Inten-
 ‘ tions that granted them, than those that put him
 ‘ upon

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ upon holding forth this Diffimulation, as if they
‘ were recalled ?

SECTION IV.

And as his Majesty hath given Satisfaction to the just and necessary Desires of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland, so doth he hereby assure and declare, That he is no less willing and desirous to give Satisfaction to the just and necessary Desires of his good Subjects in England and Ireland; and, in Token thereof, if the Houses of the Parliament of England, sitting in Freedom, shall think fit to present unto him the Propositions of Peace, agreed upon by both Kingdoms, he will not only accord to the same, and such Alterations there anent, as the Houses of Parliament, in regard of the Constitution of Affairs, and the Good of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, shall judge necessary, but do what is further necessary for prosecuting the Ends of the Solemn League and Covenant; especially in those Things which concern the Reformation of the Church of England, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government; that not only the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and Catechism, but also the Propositions and Directory for Church-Government, accorded upon by the Synod of Divines at Westminster, may be settled; and that the Church of England may enjoy the full Liberty and Freedom of all Assemblies, and Power of Kirk Censures, and of all the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, according to the Rule of his own Word: And that whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven, may be diligently done for the House of the God of Heaven.

And whatever heretofore hath been the Suggestions of some to him, to render his Majesty jealous of his Parliament, and of the Servants of God; yet as he hath declared that in Scotland he will hearken to their Counsel, and follow their Advice in those Things that concern that Kingdom and Kirk, so doth he also declare his firm Resolution to manage the Government of the Kingdom of England by the Advice of his Parliament,

Inter-regnum.
1650.
September.

liament, consisting of an House of Lords and of an House of Commons there; and, in those Things that concern Religion, to prefer the Counsels of the Ministers of the Gospel to all other Counsels whatsoever.

And that all the World may see how much he tends the Safety of his People, and how precious their Blood is in his Sight, and how desirous he is to recover his Crown and Government in England by peaceable Means, as he doth esteem the Service of those who first engaged in the Covenant, and have since that Time faithfully followed the Ends thereof, to be Duty to God and Loyalty to him; so he is willing, in regard of others who have been involved in these late Commotions in England, against Religion and Government, to pass an Act of Oblivion, excepting only some few in that Nation who have been chief Obstructors of the Work of Reformation, and chief Authors of the Change of the Government, and of the Murder of his Royal Father. Provided, That those who are to have the Benefit of this Act lay down Arms, and return to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign.

ANSWER.

‘ The Treaty that was touched upon in the former Paragraph, made between the Kingdom of Scotland and their King, in reference to England and Ireland, being here at large, and, in the Particulars of it set down, it will be needless to repeat them; in the whole Frame of which, we dare boldly affirm, There are those Grounds laid of enslaving this Nation to the Scots, and especially to the Power of their Clergy, that no Parliament that hath ever yet sat in England, and have had the least Drop of true English Blood in them, but would disdain and abhor to be thus imposed upon by the Scots Nation.

‘ And are these the Hopes that are given to this Nation of having two Houses of Parliament sitting in Freedom, when what they must desire, and what they must have, must be prepared and agreed for them by a foreign Nation? Will the
‘ Par-

378 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ Parliament be more the Parliament of *England*,
‘ when two Houses shall be brought upon the Stage
‘ again with a King at the Head of them, by the
‘ Power of a *Scots* Army enforcing this upon the
‘ Nation, than when the Parliament is in actual
‘ Possession of such Power and Freedom as, through
‘ the Blessing of God upon their Endeavours, they
‘ are able, by Law, to exclude both King and
‘ House of Lords (the known Opposers of the
‘ People’s Freedom) out of their National Coun-
‘ cils; and, by the Force God hath enabled them
‘ with, to preserve the common Peace and Safety
‘ of the whole, under the Government of a Com-
‘ monwealth and free State? It is too late now to
‘ think that the People have no better Discernment
‘ of their own true Interest, than to be caught
‘ with any Satisfaction that can be offered and gi-
‘ ven by a King, if he himself with his Power
‘ must come in at the End of it: Nor will the
‘ great Promises of what he will do in the Cause
‘ of God and Work of Reformation (under that
‘ Pretence to let in upon us the Return again of
‘ Tyranny) much work upon the Pious and Judi-
‘ cious among us, who want not the full and free
‘ Enjoyments of their Consciences in this Kind, in
‘ a voluntary Way under this Government, with-
‘ out being beholden to the Concessions of a King;
‘ nay, we may truly say, That since the Change
‘ of Government in this Nation, there have been
‘ more Laws made, and Means used, for the pro-
‘ pagating the Gospel and Power of Godliness, and
‘ encouraging the true Professors thereof, and more
‘ done for the Extirpation of Profaneness and open
‘ Wickedness, than hath been during the whole
‘ Time of the Reigns of Kings over this Nation.

‘ And as to the King of *Scotland*’s declaring his
‘ firm Resolution to manage the Government of Eng-
‘ land by the Advice of his Parliament, consisting of
‘ a House of Lords and of a House of Commons; and,
‘ in those Things that concern Religion, to prefer the
‘ Counsel of the Ministers of the Gospel before all
‘ Coun-

‘ *Counsels whatsoever* ; we trust it shall never be in
 ‘ his, nor in the Kingdom of *Scotland’s*, Power to
 ‘ impose either himself or his Creatures, the House
 ‘ of Lords, upon the Supreme Authority and Na-
 ‘ tional Council of the free-born People of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* ; who, if they once become corrupted in that
 ‘ which is the Fountain of their Liberties, their
 ‘ own Representatives in Parliament assembled,
 ‘ (which, with thus much Cost and Hazard, are
 ‘ set up in some Measure already in their primitive
 ‘ and original Purity, and are going on every Day
 ‘ more and more to the compleating thereof) must
 ‘ expect nothing but the Flowings forth of Ty-
 ‘ ranny and Mischief upon them, in and by their
 ‘ very Laws ; and that which should be the chief
 ‘ and only Remedy against all their Evils, would,
 ‘ by this Means, become the greatest Cause and
 ‘ Author of them : Nor would this at all be mended
 ‘ or helped by the Clause which is put in, *That,*
 ‘ *in those Things which concern Religion, he will*
 ‘ *prefer the Counsels of the Ministers of the Gospel*
 ‘ *before all Counsels whatsoever* ; and so, by unde-
 ‘ niable Consequence, before the Parliament itself ;
 ‘ for we have learned by Experience, that there is
 ‘ hardly any Debate had in Parliament but the Sub-
 ‘ ject-Matter of it, in some Sense or other, may
 ‘ be brought under the Concernment of Reli-
 ‘ gion, and, by that Means, all the Laws must
 ‘ be or not be as the Clergy will approve or not ap-
 ‘ prove of them : A Practice so inconsistent with
 ‘ the fundamental Privileges and Freedom of Par-
 ‘ liament, and the People’s Good ; that it hath al-
 ‘ ways been exploded and resisted by all Assertors
 ‘ of *English* Freedom ; and whenever any visible
 ‘ Attempts have been made to promote such a De-
 ‘ sign, as too often have been since the Sitting of
 ‘ this Parliament, the Parliament have highly re-
 ‘ sented it, and frequently adjudged it High Treason ;
 ‘ looking at it as that which introduces a fo-
 ‘ reign Jurisdiction, and makes Way for the setting
 ‘ up again a Popish Supremacy, changed in Name
 ‘ only !

Inter-regnum.
 1650.
 September.

‘ Touching

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ Touching the Act of Oblivion offered; it is, no doubt, the Effect of a great Desire the King of *Scots* hath to receive that which he pretends unto in the Government of *England*, an Acknowledgment of his Power to dispense such Favours: But, in the mean Time, we must observe who it is that makes this Offer, a Traitor to the Parliament and People of *England*, and who, by his past Actings against them, hath rendered himself obnoxious to their severest Censures, from which we hold him no way absolved by Assumption or Declaration of a *Scots* Kingship. He, who by Law and his Guilt, stands incapable of the meanest Privilege amongst us, Doth he think himself qualified to exercise the Greatest? Shall the Malefactor be presumed to have Power to give Pardon to his Judge? Or do the *Scots* or their King imagine, under Pretence of an Act of Oblivion, to seduce *England* to receive their Laws from *Scotland*?

‘ The Obstructors of real Reformation we are as much against as he or they can pretend to be, as by our Acts and Actions appear; amongst which we reckon it not the least, that that grand Enemy to Reformation, the Father of the now Declarer, after his long and bloody Progress made in Destruction and Devastation of the innocent People in the three Nations (the Guilt whereof upon him being a Truth so apparent, as both himself and Son, and our now Enemies of *Scotland*, have been forced to acknowledge) hath been, by our Authority, tried, adjudged, and executed for his notorious Treasons, Tyrannies, and Murders; whereof, whatever the Interpretation be given by the Son of that Murderer, or other his Partizans, old or new Malignants, late Apostates, or detestable Neutrals, who style the Act of Justice, Murder, with like Truth and Reason, as those who call Good, Evil, and Evil, Good; Light, Darkness, and Darkness, Light; we, for our Parts, bless God for that Opportunity put into our Hands of offering that Sacrifice

‘ to

‘ to Divine Justice, towards Vindication and cleansing of our Land from that Blood wherewith, by that Murderer and his Party, it was so miserably defiled.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ And as we have been obliged, in a faithful and conscientious Discharge of that Power and Trust committed to us by God and the People of this Nation, to avenge that innocent Blood upon the Head of that Tyrant, and some others the chief Authors and Actors under him in shedding thereof; so, for the seduced Multitude, and those who, in Simplicity, have been misguided by them to act to their own and Country’s Ruin, we have, in the View of all, expressed our Tenderness and Forbearance towards them: And being invested with the Authority of the Nation, whose Representative we are in that Behalf, as to such misled Persons, the Parliament of *England* thinks fit further to declare, That as they have already long since had it in their Thoughts, and for that Purpose have under Consideration an Act of general Pardon, (in the Progress whereof they have been interrupted by the renew’d Endeavours of *Charles Stuart*, and his Adherents, to disturb the Peace of this Commonwealth, and hinder its Settlement) they will, with all convenient Speed, apply themselves to the passing of such an Act; and, in the mean Time, do expect from all Persons living under the Protection of this Commonwealth, that they make not themselves any way Aiders or Abettors of the said *Charles Stuart*, in his Pretences to the Government of this Nation, under what fair and specious Shews soever, upon the Penalties in the Laws in that Behalf provided.

SECTION V.

The Committee of Estates of the Kingdom, and General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, having declared so fully in what concerns the Sectaries, and the present Designs, Resolutions, and Actions of their Army against the Kingdom of Scotland; and the same Committee and Assembly having sufficiently laid open

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

open public Dangers and Duties, both upon the Right Hand and upon the Left, it is not needful for his Majesty to add any Thing thereunto, except that in those Things he doth commend and approve them, and that he resolves to live and die with them, and his loyal Subjects, in prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant.

ANSWER.

'The Parliament of England, and also their Army, having so fully declared the Justice, Necessity, and Ends of undertaking the present Expedition into Scotland^a; and having also put it in a Way how those Declarations from the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Kirk, in Answer thereunto, shall have their Invalidity detected, as some of them already in part have been, it will be needless to say any Thing further on this Subject in this Place.

SECTION VI.

And whereas that prevailing Party in England, after all their strange Usurpations and insolent Actings in that Land, do not only keep his Majesty from the Government of that Kingdom by Force of Arms, but also have now invaded the Kingdom of Scotland, who have deserved better Things at their Hands, and against whom they have no just Quarrel; his Majesty doth therefore desire and expect, that all his good Subjects in England, who are, and resolve to be, faithful to God and to their King, according to the Covenant, will lay hold upon such an Opportunity, and use their utmost Endeavours to promote the Covenant and all the Ends thereof; and to recover and re-establish the antient Government of the Kingdom of England, (under which, for many Generations, it did flourish in Peace and Plenty at home, and in Reputation abroad) the Privileges of Parliament, and native and just Liberty of the People.

His

^a In this Volume, p. 276, to 283; 298, to 309.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

His Majesty desires to assure himself, that there doth remain in these so much Confidence of their Duty to Religion, their King and Country, and so many Sparkles of the antient English Valour, which shined so eminently in their Noble Ancestors, as will put them on to bestir themselves for the breaking the Yoke of these Men's Oppressions from off their Necks. Shall Men of Conscience and Honour set Religion Liberties, and Government at so low a Rate, as not rather to undergo any Hazard before they be thus deprived of them? Will not all generous Men count any Death more tolerable than to live in Servitude all their Days? And will not Posterity blame those who dare attempt nothing for themselves, and for their Children, in so good a Cause, in such an Exigent? Whereas, if they gather themselves and take Courage, putting on a Resolution answerable to so noble and just an Enterprize, they shall honour God, and gain themselves the Reputation of pious Men, worthy Patriots, and loyal Subjects, and be called the Repairers of the Breach by the present and succeeding Generations; and they may certainly promise to themselves a Blessing from God upon so just and honourable Undertaking for the Lord and for his Cause, for their own Liberties, their native King and Country, and the invaluable Good and Happiness of their Posterity.

Whatever hath formerly been his Majesty's Guiltiness before God, and the bad Success that those have had who owned his Affairs, whilst he stood in Opposition to the Work of God; yet the State of the Question being now altered, and his Majesty having obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and to prefer God's Interest before his own, he hopes that the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own Cause in the Hands of weak and sinful Instruments, against all Enemies whatsoever.

This is all that can be said by his Majesty at present, to those in England and Ireland, at such a Distance; and as they shall acquit themselves at this Time in the active Discharge of their necessary Duties, so shall they be accepted before God, endeared

384 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

to his Majesty, and their Names had in Remembrance throughout the World.

Given at our Court at *Dumfermling*, the 16th Day of *August*, 1650, and in the second Year of our Reign.

ANSWER.

‘ That which was first in Design and lurking at
 ‘ the Bottom, is now last brought forth into open
 ‘ View to be put in Practice: Untill the *Scots* King
 ‘ had thus wash’d himself clean with his verbal Re-
 ‘ pentances; had pretended a full Persuasion of the
 ‘ Justice and Equity of all the Articles and Heads
 ‘ of the Covenant, and a casting of himself wholly
 ‘ upon the Advice of Parliaments and Assemblies
 ‘ of Divines, in all Civil and Ecclesiastical Matters
 ‘ in both Nations, he would have spoiled his own
 ‘ Affairs, and weakened the Hands of all that
 ‘ should have joined with him to have engaged in a
 ‘ new War against *England*, who have smarted and
 ‘ suffered too much already by the old; but now,
 ‘ after the Landskip of such Wonders as these is
 ‘ drawn forth into a Piece of Paper, and the State
 ‘ of the Cause and of the War would seem to be
 ‘ changed, what doth all this tend to, and what is
 ‘ the Use that is to be made of it? Surely no other
 ‘ than that which, if all these Things had been left
 ‘ undone, was his and the *Scots* proper Interest be-
 ‘ fore upon their old Account; that is to say, to
 ‘ stir up all Parties and Interests, capable of his or
 ‘ their Seducements, to take the first Opportunity
 ‘ to embroil this Nation afresh in Blood, that they
 ‘ might come in as Conquerors, and so make it, as
 ‘ much as in them lies, the saddest Spectacle of
 ‘ Ruin and Misery that can be imagined; for what
 ‘ can be like an Over-running of the Nation by a
 ‘ *Scots* Army with their King at the Head of them,
 ‘ be their Pretences what they will? And there-
 ‘ fore, since it is so apparent what is the End and
 ‘ Design of this Declaration, it will become all
 ‘ true *Englishmen* to be more awakened than ever,
 ‘ to watch against, and resist to the last Man, so
 ‘ pernicious and deep-laid a Design, whereby, at
 ‘ one

one Blow, to cut off and disappoint all that hath been fought for so many Years together, and subject themselves to the Power of a foreign Nation, against whom God hath been pleased to give so wonderful a Testimony by the late signal Victory near *Dunbar*, the third of *September*, 1650, upon solemn Appeals made by both Parties to Almighty God. And as it shall be our Parts to omit no good Means that God hath put into our Hands, to prevent any Insurrections or Disturbances of the Public Peace and Safety, by what Hand soever carried on; so we do hold it our Duty further to declare, That whosoever shall be found, in pursuance of this Declaration of *Charles Stuart* the *Scots* King, promoting the Interest of the said *Charles Stuart*, or any way engaging in the Prosecution of the wicked Designs therein contained, they shall be proceeded against with much more Severity than Delinquents in the former Wars, as to the Judgment of Parliament shall be thought meet.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

September.

HEN. SCOBELL,
Cler. Parl.

P.S. Since the Dispatch of the foregoing Answer there came to hand Copies of four Letters, written from the Earl of *Loudon*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, to the King of *Scots*, which were taken in the said Chancellor's Cabinet, among the Spoils of the *Scots*, at the late memorable Defeat of their Army in the Fields of *Dunbar*; by which seasonable Providence a further Discovery is made of what was sufficiently evident before to all discerning Men, both of the *Scots* continued Design to invade *England*, had we not thus prevented them, and of the dissembling Formality of their King's Repentance, so much cried up by them, upon his emitting, as they call it, this Declaration, and obtruded upon their credulous Multitudes, and swallowed by their Party here for Interest's Sake; when hereby 'tis evident it was drawn

386 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

by them *in Terminis*, and extorted from him with
minatory Importunities; and well demonstrates
the little Sense of Conscience or Honour in that
King, and the Desperateness of his Hopes that
pursues his End by such Means.

And it may further be observed what Sincerity
can be expected from that Nation in any public
Transactions, when their great Minister of State
dare make so bold with his King's Answer, as to
alter it to what he thought would better serve a
Turn; and offer that to their Parliament as their
King's, without ever consulting him in it, and
that in a Business of so great Concernment. The
Discovery of these Jugglings may be useful to
those who have been imposed upon by the Bold-
ness of these Instruments, who, without Respect
or Reverence to Truth, are wont to be bold with
any Thing that may conduce to their End.

These Letters run thus :

Edinburgh, July 9, 1650.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Copies of four in-
tercepted Letters
from the Earl of
London to King
Charles II.

*Albeit there be no Man rejoices more for your
Majesty's safe Arrival in this Kingdom, or
more desirous to wait upon your Majesty than myself,
yet the Duty of my Place in attending the Parliament
so long as it was sitting, (where I did endeavour to
be more serviceable to your Majesty than I could be
elsewhere) and the Distemper of my Health not per-
mitting me to travel, I hope will plead Pardon at
your Majesty's Hand, that I have not come to wait
upon you; but so soon as I shall be any ways able to
travel I shall attend your Majesty, and shall not pre-
sume to trouble your Majesty with any Particulars till
then; resolving to make it my chief Care and Study
how to improve the happy Agreement (laid upon so
pious and well-grounded a Foundation of a Covenant
with God and your People) to the best Advantage, as
may conduce most to his Honour, and the Recovery of
your Majesty's just and undoubted Right of all your
King-*

Kingdoms; than which nothing shall be more faithfully and really endeavoured by

Inter-regnum.
1650.

Your Majesty's most loyal Subject,

September.

and humble Servant,

LOUDON.

Indorsed, A Copy of my Letter to the King's Majesty, July 9, 1650.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THE Marquis of Argyle and the Earl of Buckleugh have communicated to me your Majesty's Answer to that Paper, which was presented by him and others to your Majesty, in Name of your Parliament and their Committee, concerning the Removal of some of your Servants and others from your Court and Royal Person; and considering that some Parts of your Answer is such as would not be satisfactory, I have presumed to alter it, and write it so, as I am confident will give good Satisfaction: For seeing your Majesty hath, by your Answer to the same Desires, given full Contentment to the General Assembly, I doubt not but your Majesty is willing to give the same Content to your Parliament and Committee of Estates: Therefore I trust your Majesty will pardon my Boldness; for I know no better Service can be done to your Majesty, than that any Thing which proceeds from you may be acceptable to your People, and that your Majesty may be more and more endeared in their Affections; which is the Duty, and shall ever be the Desire, of, &c.

Indorsed, A Copy of my Letter to the King, July 22, 1650.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THE Condition of your Majesty's Army here, and what our Resolutions are at present, will be so exactly shewn to your Majesty by Sir James Lumden, as I shall refer the Particulars to his Relation, rather than trouble your Majesty with a

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

long Letter; yet briefly I hold it fit to shew your Majesty, that Cromwell hath gotten more than a Month's Provisions for his Army by Sea, and that he shortly expects Recruits: And Victuals being so scarce, as it will be very difficult to entertain our Army in a Body till the Harvest, that Corn be cut and reaped, it is resolved, for this and other Reasons, That this Army shall march out to the Fields nearer the Enemy; and, if they force us out to fight, in God's Strength to give them Battle; or, if they shall not pursue us, some Enterprize will be undertaken to make a Diversion to give the Enemy Work in England, rather than consume us with a lingering War, and make the Seat of it in Scotland. In order to which your Majesty's hastening hither your Declaration is so necessary, as the Delay of it will retard and obstruct any Expedition into England; and Time is so precious, as the Loss of Opportunity can hardly ever be recovered. So praying God to bless your Majesty, and so direct your Councils and the Actions of your Armies, as may serve most for his Honour, and may restore your Majesty to your just Rights.

And, Sir, it is the Desire and Judgment of many, that Sir James Lumden should be Lieutenant-General of the Foot; but was not thought expedient to do it presently, to shun Contest and Emulation; yet his Affection to the Cause, and to your Majesty's Service, is such, as he is willing to give his best Assistance in ordering the Army, and to act his Part in a Day of Battle. And truly, Sir, he is a Person of so much Valour and Experience in War, that your Majesty should give him all Encouragement, and lay your Commands upon him to return presently to the Army, and not leave it.

Indorsed, A Scroll of my Letter to
the King, Aug. 10, 1650.

S I R,

THERE hath been so much said by those who are here, and those were sent from the Committee of Estates, and from the Commissioners of the General As-

Assembly, to move your Majesty to emit that Declaration for Satisfaction of the Church and State, and of such in all your Kingdoms as desire Religion and your Majesty's Throne to be established, according to the Covenant, as I can add little to persuade your Majesty; yet if your Majesty shall ponder, in the Balance of righteous Judgment, the Consequences that will follow upon your Granting or Refusal, your Majesty will not deny it. If your Majesty grant and emit this Declaration, you satisfy the Church, the State, the Army, and all your good Subjects: They all concur to act for you, and the Army is ready, if they be not engaged in present Battle, to march into England, and leave Scotland, and all that is dear to them, to the utmost Hazard, and sacrifice their Lives for the carrying on the Work of Reformation, and restoring your Majesty to your Rights and Crown of England: And then, if there be any in England who dare appear for Religion, for their own Liberties, or for your Majesty's Interest, they will find a fit Opportunity for it.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

Your Majesty is now obliged, by the Oath of Covenant with God and your People, to promote the Ends of the Covenant in your Royal Station and Place, to the utmost of your Power; and your Majesty by the Treaty of this Kingdom, and in good Reason, is bound to follow the Counsel and Advice of your Parliament and Church, and of those who are by them authorized; and since this which is earnestly desired by both, is necessary for the Good of Religion and the Covenant, and engaging of the Church and Kingdom to hazard their Lives and Estates for carrying on your Majesty's Interest, with the Interest of Religion, your Majesty should not deny, but cordially and speedily condescend to it.

If your Majesty, after so earnest Intreaty and such Offers from the Church, the State, and the Army, shall refuse to satisfy their Desire, and clear your Resolutions, your Majesty will grieve their Spirits, cool their Affections, and weaken their Hands. And since your Majesty refuseth to do what is necessary for the Good of Religion and God's Interest, they will

390 The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.
September.

look to the Safety and Good of Religion, and to their own Safety, and emit a Declaration, how willing they are to hazard their Lives for your Majesty's Interest, if ye had been for Religion; but that being denied, they will separate the Preservation of Religion from your Interest, and so to the Safety of this Kingdom; and if there be a Difference and Separation upon these Grounds, there will never, in human Appearance, be such a Conjunction; and your Enemies, who will grant any Thing which may destroy your Majesty, will win their Ends.

Indorsed, A Copy of my Letter to his Majesty, upon sending the Declaration to him to be signed.

On the 24th of this Month the Council of State received, from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Copies of several Letters which pass'd between him and the Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, soon after the Surrender of the City. These being printed by Authority, we shall give from the original Editions°. But, first, Col. *Whalley's* Letter by the General's Order.

For the Honourable the GOVERNOR of the Castle of Edinburgh.

S I R,

Sept. 9, 1650.

Letters which pass'd between Gen. *Cromwell* and the Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle.

I Received Command from my Lord-General, to desire you to let the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, now in the Castle with you, know that they have free Liberty granted them, if they please to take the Pains, to preach in their several Churches; and that my Lord hath given special Command, both to Officers and Soldiers, that they shall not in the least be molested. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

EDW. WHALLEY.

From

Printed for Edward Husbands,

From the GOVERNOR of Edinburgh Castle to Col. WHALLEY; with the LORD-GENERAL's Answer.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

S I R,

Sept. 9, 1650.

I Have communicated the Desire of your Letter to such of the Ministers of *Edinburgh* as are with me; who have desired me to return this for Answer, That though they are ready to be spent in their Master's Service, and to refuse no Suffering, so they may fulfil their Ministry with Joy; yet perceiving the Persecution to be personal, by the Practice of your Party upon the Ministers of Christ in *England* and *Ireland*, and in the Kingdom of *Scotland* since your unjust Invasion thereof; and finding nothing express'd in yours, whereupon to build any Security for their Persons while they are there, and for their Return hither, they are resolved to reserve themselves for better Times, and to wait upon him who hath *hidden his Face for a while from the Sons of Jacob*. This is all I have to say, but that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

For the Honourable the GOVERNOR of the Castle of Edinburgh.

S I R,

Sept. 9, 1650.

THE Kindness offered to the Ministers with you, was done with Ingenuity, thinking it might have met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that if their Master's Service, as they call it, were chiefly in their Eye, Imagination of Suffering would not have caused such a Return; much less the Practice by our Party, as they are pleased to say, upon the Ministers of Christ in *England*, have been an Argument of personal Persecution: The Ministers of
Eng-

Inter-regnum.

1650.

September.

‘ *England* are supported, and have Liberty to
 ‘ preach the Gospel, though not to rail ; nor, un-
 ‘ der Pretence thereof, to over-top the Civil Power,
 ‘ or debase it as they please : No man hath
 ‘ been troubled in *England* or *Ireland* for preach-
 ‘ ing the Gospel ; nor has any Minister been mo-
 ‘ lested in *Scotland*, since the Coming of the Army
 ‘ hither.

‘ The speaking Truth becomes the Ministers
 ‘ of Christ : When Ministers pretend to a glori-
 ‘ ous Reformation, and lay the Foundation there-
 ‘ of in getting to themselves worldly Power, and
 ‘ can make worldly Mixtures to accomplish the
 ‘ same, such as their late Agreement with their
 ‘ King, and Hopes, by him, to carry on their
 ‘ Design, they may know, that the *Sion* promised
 ‘ and hoped for, will not be built with such un-
 ‘ tempered Mortar.

‘ As for the unjust Invasion they mention ;
 ‘ Time was when an Army of *Scotland* came into
 ‘ *England*, not called by the Supreme Authority :
 ‘ We have said in our Papers, with what Hearts,
 ‘ and upon what Account, we came ; and the Lord
 ‘ hath heard us, though you would not, upon as
 ‘ solemn an Appeal as any Experience can parallel.
 ‘ And although they seem to comfort themselves
 ‘ with being *the Sons of Jacob, from whom*, they
 ‘ say, *God hath hid his Face for a Time* ; yet it’s
 ‘ no Wonder, when the Lord hath lifted up his
 ‘ Hand so eminently against a Family, as he hath
 ‘ done so often against this, and Men will not see
 ‘ his Hand, if the Lord hide his Face from such ;
 ‘ putting them to Shame both for it, and their Ha-
 ‘ tred at his People, as it is this Day. When
 ‘ they purely trust to the Sword of the Spirit,
 ‘ which is the Word of God, which is *powerful to*
 ‘ *bring down strong Holds, and every Imagination*
 ‘ *that exalts itself*, which alone is able to square
 ‘ and fit the Stones for the *New Jerusalem*, then,
 ‘ and not before, and by that Means, and no
 ‘ other, *shall Jerusalem, which is to be the Praise*
 ‘ *of the whole Earth, the City of the Lord, be built,*
 the

' the Sion of the Holy One of Israel. I have no-
' thing to say to you, but that I am,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

*A Letter from the GOVERNOR of Edinburgh Castle,
for the Right Honourable the Lord CROMWELL,
Commander in Chief of the English Army.*

My Lord,

Sept. 9, 1650.

' Y Ours I have communicated to those with me
' whom it concerned, who desire me to re-
' turn this Answer, That their Ingenuity in pro-
' secuting the Ends of the Covenant, according to
' their Vocation and Place, and adhering to their
' first Principles, is well known; and one of their
' greatest Regrets is, that they have not met with
' the like. When Ministers of the Gospel have
' been imprisoned, deprived of their Benefices, se-
' questrate, forced to flee from their Dwellings,
' and bitterly threatned for their faithful declaring
' the Will of God against the godless and wicked
' Proceedings of Men, it cannot be accounted
' an imaginary Fear of Suffering in such as are re-
' solved to follow the like Freedom and Faithful-
' ness, in discharging of their Master's Message :
' That it favours not of Ingenuity to promise Liber-
' ty of preaching the Gospel, and to limit the
' Preachers thereof, that they must not speak a-
' gainst the Sins and Enormities of Civil Powers ;
' since their Commission carrieth them to speak
' the Word of the Lord unto, and to reprove the
' Sins of, Persons of all Ranks, from the Highest
' to the Lowest: That to impose the Name of
' Railing upon such faithful Freedom, was the old
' Practice of Malignants against the Ministers of
' the Gospel, who laid open to People the Wick-
' edness of their Ways, that they should not be
' ensnared thereby: That their Consciences bear
' them

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ them Record, and all their Hearers do know,
 ‘ that they meddle not with Civil Affairs, further
 ‘ than to hold forth the Rule of the Word, by
 ‘ which the Straightness and Crookedness of Men’s
 ‘ Actions are made evident: But they are sorry
 ‘ that they have just Cause to regret, that Men of
 ‘ meer Civil Place and Employment should usurp
 ‘ the Calling and Employment of the Ministry,
 ‘ to the Scandal of the Reformed Kirks, and parti-
 ‘ cularly in *Scotland*, contrary to the Government
 ‘ and Discipline therein established; to the Main-
 ‘ tenance whereof you are bound by the Solemn
 ‘ League and Covenant.

‘ Thus far they have thought fit to vindicate their
 ‘ Return to the Offer in Colonel *Whalley*’s late
 ‘ Letter; The other Part of yours, which concerns
 ‘ the Public as well as them, they conceive all
 ‘ that hath been answered sufficiently in the public
 ‘ Papers of the State and Kirk; only to that of
 ‘ the Success upon your solemn Appeal, they say
 ‘ again what was said to it before, That they have
 ‘ not so learned Christ, as to hang the Equity of
 ‘ their Cause upon Events; but desire to have
 ‘ their Hearts established in the Love of the Truth
 ‘ in all the Tribulations that befall them. I only
 ‘ add, that I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

For the GOVERNOR of Edinburgh Castle.

S I R,

Sept. 12, 1650.

‘ **B**Ecause I am at some reasonable good Leisure,
 ‘ I cannot let such a gross Mistake and incon-
 ‘ sequential Reasonings pass without some Notice
 ‘ taken of them. And first, their Ingenuity in
 ‘ Relation to the Covenant, for which they com-
 ‘ mend themselves, doth no more justify their
 ‘ Want of Ingenuity in Answer to Colonel *Whal-*
 ‘ *ley*’s

' *ley's* Christian Offer, (concerning which my Let-
 ' ter charged them with Guiltiness, and Deficiency)
 ' than their bearing Witness to themselves of their
 ' adhering to their first Principles and Ingenuity, in
 ' prosecuting the Ends of the Covenant, justifies
 ' them so to have done, meerly because they say
 ' so. They must give more Leave henceforward,
 ' for Christ will have it so, will they nill they;
 ' and they must have Patience to have the Truth of
 ' their Doctrines and Sayings tried by the sure
 ' Touchstone of the Word of God; and if there
 ' be a Liberty and Duty of Trial, there is a Li-
 ' berty of Judgment also, for them that may and
 ' ought to try; which, if so, they must give others
 ' Leave to say and think, that they can appeal to
 ' equal Judges, who have been the truest Fulfillers
 ' of the most real and equitable Ends of the Cove-
 ' nant: But if these Gentlemen, who do assume
 ' to themselves to be the infallible Expositors of
 ' the Covenant, as they do too much to their Audi-
 ' tories, of the Scriptures, counting a different Sense
 ' and Judgment from theirs, Breach of Covenant
 ' and Heresy, no Marvel they judge of others so
 ' authoritatively and severely; but *we have not so*
 ' *learned Christ.*

' We look at Ministers as Helpers of, not Lords
 ' over, the Faith of God's People. I appeal to
 ' their Consciences, whether any trying their Doc-
 ' trines and dissenting, shall not incur the Censure
 ' of Sectary; and what is this but to deny Chri-
 ' stians their Liberty, and assume the infallible
 ' Chair? What doth he, whom we would not be
 ' likened unto, do more than this?

' In the second Place it is affirmed, *That the*
 ' *Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, de-*
 ' *prived of their Benefices, sequestred, forced to fly*
 ' *from their Dwellings, and bitterly threatened for*
 ' *their faithful declaring the Will of God, &c.*
 ' And *That they have been limited that they might*
 ' *not speak against the Sins and Enormities of the*
 ' *Civil Powers: That to impose the Name of Rail-*
 ' *ing upon such faithful Freedom, was the old*
 ' *Practice*

Inter-regnum,
 1650.
 September,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

*Practice of the Malignants against the Preachers
of the Gospel, &c.*

‘ If the Civil Authority, or that Part of it which
‘ continued faithful to their Trust, and true to the
‘ Ends of the Covenant, did, in Answer to their
‘ Consciences turn out a Tyrant, in a Way which
‘ the Christians in After-times will mention with
‘ Honour, and all the Tyrants in the World look
‘ at with Fear, and many Thousands of Saints in
‘ *England* rejoice to think of it; and have received,
‘ from the Hand of God, a Liberty from the
‘ Fear of like Usurpations; and have cast off him,
‘ who trod in his Father’s Steps, doing Mischief as
‘ far as he was able, whom you have received like
‘ Fire into your Bosoms, of which God will, I trust,
‘ in Time make you sensible; if Ministers railing
‘ at the Civil Power, calling them Murderers and
‘ the like, for doing this, have been dealt with as
‘ you mention; will this be found a personal Per-
‘ secution? Or is Sin so, because they say so?
‘ They that acted this great Business, having given
‘ a Reason of their Faith in this Action; and some
‘ here are ready further to do it against all Gain-
‘ sayers. But it will be found that these Repro-
‘ vers do not only make themselves the Judges and
‘ Determiners of Sin, that so they may reprove;
‘ but they also took Liberty to stir up the People
‘ to Blood and Arms, and would have brought a
‘ War upon *England*, as hath been upon *Scotland*,
‘ had not God prevented it: And if such Severity
‘ as hath been expressed toward them, be worthy
‘ the Name of personal Persecution, let all uninter-
‘ rested Men judge, whether the calling of this
‘ Practice Railing, be to be parallel’d with the Ma-
‘ lignants Imputation upon the Ministers, for
‘ speaking against the Popish Innovations in the
‘ Prelates Time, and the tyrannical and wicked
‘ Practices then on Foot, let your own Conscien-
‘ ces remind you. The *Roman* Emperors, in
‘ Christ and his Apostles Times, were Usurpers
‘ and Intruders upon the *Jewish* State, yet what
‘ Footstep have ye either of our blessed Saviour’s
‘ so

' so much as Willingness to the dividing of an
' Inheritance, or their meddling in that Kind: This
' was not practised by the Church since our Savi-
' our's Time till Antichrist, assuming the infallible
' Chair, and all that he called the Church to be
' under him, practised this authoritatively over
' Civil Governors.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

' The Way to fulfil your Ministry with Joy, is
' to preach the Gospel; which I wish some who
' take Pleasure in Reproofs at Adventure, do not
' forget too much to do.

' *Thirdly, you say, You have just Cause to re-
' gret, that Men of Civil Employments should usurp
' the Calling and Employment of the Ministry, to the
' Scandal of the Reformed Kirks, &c.*

' Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is
' Preaching so inclusive in your Function? Doth
' it scandalize the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland
' in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away
' with the Covenant, if this be so; I thought the
' Covenant and these could have been willing that
' any should speak good of the Name of Christ; if
' not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor
' the Kirks you mention, in so much, the Spouse of
' Christ. Where do you find in the Scripture a
' Ground to warrant such an Assertion, that Preach-
' ing is included in your Function? Though an
' Approbation from Men hath Order in it, and
' may do well, yet he that hath not a better War-
' rant than that, hath none at all. I hope he that
' ascended up on high, may give his Gifts to whom
' he pleases; and if those Gifts be the Seal of Mis-
' sion, be not envious tho' *Eldad and Medad* prophe-
' sy: You know who bids us *covet earnestly the best
' Gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy*; which
' the Apostle explains there to be a Speaking to
' Instruction, and Edification, and Comfort, which
' the Instructed, Edified, and Comforted can best
' tell the Energy and Effect of; if such Evidence
' be, I say again, take heed you envy not for
' your own Sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater
' Fault than *Moses* reproved in *Joshua*, for envy-
ing

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

ing for his Sake. Indeed you err through the Mistake of the Scriptures; Approbation is an Act of Conveniency in respect of Order, not of Necessity to give Faculty to preach the Gospel.

Your pretended Fear, lest Error should step in, is like the Man that would keep all the Wine out of the Country, lest Men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise Jealousy to deny a Man the Liberty he hath by Nature, upon a Supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, judge. If a Man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly because ye are wise; if erroneously, the Truth more appears by your Conviction; stop such a Man's Mouth with sound Words that cannot be gainsaid; if blasphemously, or to the Disturbance of the public Peace, let the Civil Magistrate punish him; if truly, rejoice in the Truth; and if you will call our Speakings together since we came into *Scotland*, to provoke one another to Love and to good Works, to Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and Repentance from dead Works, to Charity and Love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for the bitter Returns to, and Incredulity of, our Professions of Love to you; of the Truth of which we have made our solemn and humble Appeals to the Lord our God, which he hath heard and borne Witness to; if these Things be scandalous to the Kirk and against the Covenant, because done by Men of Civil Callings, we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say.

For a Conclusion, in Answer to the Witness of God upon our solemn Appeal, you say, *You have not so learned Christ to hang the Equity of your Cause upon Events.* We could wish Blindness hath not been upon your Eyes to all those marvellous Dispensations which God hath wrought lately in *England*. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think with Fear and Trembling of the Hand of the great God in this mighty and strange Appearance of his, but can slightly
call

Inter-regnum
1650.

September.

‘ call it an *Event*? Were not both yours and our
 ‘ Expectations renewed from Time to Time, whilst
 ‘ we waited on God to see which way he would
 ‘ manifest himself upon our Appeals? And shall
 ‘ we, after all these our Prayers, Fastings, Tears,
 ‘ Expectations, and solemn Appeals, call these
 ‘ bare Events? The Lord pity you, surely we fear,
 ‘ because it hath been a merciful and gracious De-
 ‘ liverance to us.

‘ I beseech you, in the Bowels of Christ, search
 ‘ after the Mind of the Lord in it towards you, and
 ‘ we shall help you by our Prayers, that you may
 ‘ find it out; for yet (if we know our Hearts at
 ‘ all) our Bowels do in Christ Jesus yearn after the
 ‘ Godly in *Scotland*: We know there are stum-
 ‘ bling Blocks which hinder you; the personal
 ‘ Prejudices you have taken up against us and our
 ‘ Ways, wherein we cannot but think some Occa-
 ‘ sion has been given, and for which we mourn;
 ‘ the Apprehension you have, that we have hin-
 ‘ dered the glorious Reformation you think you
 ‘ were upon: I am persuaded these and such like
 ‘ bind you up from an Understanding and yielding
 ‘ to the Mind of God, in this great Day of his
 ‘ Power and Visitation; and, if I be rightly in-
 ‘ formed, the late Blow you received is attributed
 ‘ to profane Councils and Conduct, and Mixtures
 ‘ in your Army, and such like; the natural Man
 ‘ will not find out the Cause; look up to the Lord,
 ‘ that he may tell it you; which that he would do,
 ‘ shall be the fervent Prayers of

Your loving Friend and Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For the GOVERNOR of Edinburgh Castle.

‘ **T**Hese Queries are sent, not to reproach you;
 ‘ but, in the Love of Christ, laying them
 ‘ before you, we being persuaded in the Lord,
 ‘ that there is a Truth in them, which we ear-
 ‘ nestly desire may not be laid aside unsought after
 ‘ by any Prejudice, either against the Things them-
 ‘ selves,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ selves, or the Unworthiness or Weakness of the
‘ Person that offers them. If you turn at the
‘ Lord’s Reproofs, he will pour out his Spirit upon
‘ you, and you shall understand his Words, and
‘ they will guide you to a blessed Reformation in-
‘ deed, even to one according to the Word, and
‘ such as the People of God wait for; wherein
‘ you will find us and all Saints ready to rejoice,
‘ and serve you to the utmost in our Places and
‘ Callings.’

Q U Æ R I E S.

I. *Whether the Lord’s Controversy be not both against the Ministers in Scotland and England, for wresting, straining, and improving the Covenant against the Godly and Saints in England, of the same Faith with them in every Fundamental, even to a bitter Persecution; and so making that which, in the main Intention, was spiritual, to serve Politics and carnal Ends, even in that Part especially which was spiritual, and did look to the Glory of God, and the Comfort of his People?*

II. *Whether the Lord’s Controversy may not be for your, and the Ministers in England’s Sulliness at, and darkening, and not beholding the Glory of God’s wonderful Dispensations in this Series of his Providences in England, Ireland, and Scotland, both now and formerly, through Envy at Instruments, and because the Things did not work forth your Platform, and the great God did not come down to your Minds and Thoughts?*

III. *Whether your carrying on a Reformation, so much by you spoken of, have not probably been subject to some Mistakes in your own Judgements about some Parts of the same, laying so much Stress thereupon, as hath been a Temptation to you, even to break the Law of Love towards your Brethren, and those Christ hath regenerated, even to the reviling and persecuting of them, and to stir up wicked Men to do the same, for your Form’s Sake, or but some Parts of it?*

IV. *Whether, if your Reformation be so perfect and so spiritual, and indeed the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus,*

Jefus, it will need fuch carnal Policies, fuch flefhly Mixtures, fuch unfincere Aftings, as to pretend to cry down all Malignants, and yet receive and fet up the Head of them; and fo aet for the Kingdom of Chrift in his Name, and upon Advantage thereof; and to publifh fo falfe a Paper, fo full of Specious Pretences to Piety, as the Fruit and Effect of his Repentance, to deceive the Minds of all the Godly in England, Ireland, and Scotland; you in your own Confcienccs knowing with what Regret he did it, and with what Importunities and Threats he was brought to do it; and how much to this very Day he is againft it; and whether this be not a high Provocation of the Lord, in fo grofly difsembling with him and his People?

Inter-regnum,
1650.

September.

*For the Right Honourable the Commander in Chief
of the Englifh Army.*

My Lord,

Sept. 12. 1650.

YOur Papers I have communicated to thofe with me whom they concerned, who have defired me to return this Answer: The Contents of thefe Papers do concern the public Differences betwixt you and thofe of the three Kingdoms, who have faithfully adhered to the Solemn League and Covenant, and are awed by the Oath of God from Acceffion to the Guiltinefs of clear and evident Breaches of the Covenant, and have been fo often and fully answered in the public Papers of this Kirk and Kingdom; in the Refolutions of the Affembly of Divines in England; and in the publifhed Writings of the foundeft Divines there, yea, and of all the Reformed Kirks, that they conceive it needlefs (though a Matter of no great Difficulty) to give a particular Answer; efpecially fince the late General Affembly have authorized their Commiffioners to take into Confideration Matters of public Concernment to this Kirk, unto whom, if you please, you may hereafter direct Papers of that Kind: In the mean Time they reft fully perfuaded in their Minds, that the Event of a Battle, though order-

402 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

‘ ed indeed by a just and wise Providence, is no in-
‘ fallible Proof of the Equity or Iniquity of a
‘ Cause, seeing there is one Event to the Righte-
‘ ous and to the Wicked, to him that sweareth and
‘ to him that feareth an Oath, as it is clear in the
‘ Case of *Israel* against *Benjamin* about the Men
‘ of *Gibeab*. I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

Thus much for this Religious Disputation be-
tween the *English* and *Scots* Commanders. Leaving
it to the Reader’s Determination whether *Crom-
well* alone was not an Overmatch therein for the
Governor and his Ecclesiastical Council, we shall
return to the Proceedings of Parliament at *West-
minster*.

An Assessment of
120,000 *l.* per
Month voted for
carrying on the
War in *Scotland*.

The House having made an Order to go upon
nothing but Money-Matters for a Week, on the
25th of this Month the Council of State delivered
in a Paper from the Treasurers at War, signifying,
that, in pursuance of the Parliament’s Orders, they
had considered of the sending Men and Provisions
for carrying on the Public Service in *Scotland*, which
would speedily be ready, unless Money were want-
ing for the Payment of them. Hereupon it was
resolved that 400,000 *l.* be charg’d upon the whole
Nation, to be proportionably laid upon the several
Counties; and that the Repayment thereof be se-
cured by Monies to be raised by the Sale of Fee-
Farm Rents.—But this Proposal was afterwards
dropp’d; and, instead thereof, a Bill was order’d in
for levying 120,000 *l.* per *Month*, for four Months,
according to the same Proportions as the former
Assessment of 90,000 *l.* This new Assessment to
commence on the 25th of *December* ensuing.

An Act for im-
powering the Ex-
cise to be farm’d.

The Acts passed this Month, worth our Notice,
were only two; the first of which related to the
Ex-

Excise, whereby new Commissioners were appointed, with Power to lett out to farm the Duties payable on Commodities subject to that Kind of Impost, and to be allowed Three-pence in the Pound for their Salary. The other was intituled, *An Act for Relief of religious and peaceable People from the Rigour of former Acts of Parliament in Matters of Religion.* The Preamble to this remarkable Act runs thus :

Inter-regnum,
1650.

October.

‘ The Parliament of *England*, taking into Consideration several Acts, made in the Times of former Kings and Queens of this Nation, against Recusants not coming to Church, enjoining the Use of the Common Prayer, the keeping and observing of Holidays, and some other Particulars touching Matters of Religion; and finding that, by the said Acts, divers religious and peaceable People, well affected to the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, have not only been molested and imprisoned, but also brought into Danger of abjuring their Country; or, in case of Return, to suffer Death as Felons, to the great Disquiet and utter Ruin of such good and godly People, and to the Detriment of the Commonwealth, &c.’

Another for allowing Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion.

Then this Act proceeds to repeal all such Clauses in the Statutes of the 1st, 23d, and 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*, which imposed Penalties upon Persons not coming to Church, provided they should resort to some public Place where the Worship of God was exercised, or be present elsewhere at the Practice of Religious Duties; as Prayer, Preaching, reading or expounding the Scriptures, or conferring upon the same, every *Sunday*, and on Days of public Thanksgiving and Humiliation appointed by Parliament.

October. The raising of Money still engrossed the Attention of the House, and many more Orders were made for the Composition and Sale of Delinquents Estates, which seems to be their principal, and an inexhaustible, Fund to draw from,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

October.

*Barbadoes, and
other Plantations
in the West In-
dies, revolt from
the Parliament.*

tho' many other Ways and Means were used for that Purpose.

About this Time the Island of *Barbadoes* had revolted from the Parliament, and was followed by others of the Leeward Islands, which occasioned an Act to be passed on the 3d of this Month, for prohibiting all Commerce and Trade to the *Barbadoes, Antigua, Virginia, and Bermudas*, or the Summer Islands. It was also ordered that the Council of State be authorized to give Orders to the Generals at Sea, for detaining all such Ships as they shall find trading to those Parts, untill they shall have given an Account thereof to the Parliament or Council. And a strong Fleet, with a Number of Transports, was ordered to be dispatched away with all possible Speed, for reducing the Island of *Barbadoes*, and all other *English* Plantations that should persist in Opposition to the Government of this Commonwealth.

OE. 4. Mr. *Bond* reported a Letter from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, addressed to the Council of State, the following Extract whereof was read in the House.

Edinburgh, Sept. 25, 1650.

Gen. *Cromwell's*
Account of his
Progress in *Scot-*
land.

ON Saturday the 14th Instant, we marched six Miles towards *Stirling*; and, by reason of the Badness of the Ways, were forced to send back two Peices of our greatest Artillery. The Day following we marched to *Linlithgow*, not being able to go further by reason of much Rain that fell that Day: On the 16th we marched to *Falkirk*, and the next Day following within Cannon Shot of *Stirling*; where, upon *Wednesday* the 18th, our Army was drawn forth, and all Things in a Readiness to storm the Town: But finding the Work very difficult, they having in the Town 2000 Horse and more Foot, and the Place standing upon a River not navigable for Shipping to relieve the same, we could not, with Safety, make it a Garrison, if God should have given it
into

Inter-regnum.

1650.

October.

'into our Hands. Upon this, and other Con-
'fiderations, it was not thought a fit Time to storm;
'but such was the unanimous Resolution and Cou-
'rage both of our Officers and Soldiers, that greater
'could not be (as to outward Appearance) in Men.

'On *Thursday* the 19th, we returned from thence
'to *Linlithgow*, and at Night we were informed,
'that at *Stirling* they shot off their great Guns for
'Joy their King was come thither.

'On *Friday* the 20th, three *Irish* Soldiers came
'from them to us, to whom we gave Entertain-
'ment in the Army: These say, Great Fears pos-
'sessed the Soldiers when they expected us to storm;
'that they knew not whether old *Leven* be their
'General or not, the Report being various; but
'that Sir *John Brown*, a Colonel of their Army,
'was laid aside; that they are endeavouring to
'raise all the Forces they can, in the North; that
'many of the Soldiers, since our Victory, are of-
'fended at their Ministers; that Colonel *Gilbert*
'*Carr* and Colonel *Strachan* are gone with that-
'tered Forces to *Glasgow*, to levy Soldiers there.
'As yet we hear not of any of the old Cavaliers be-
'ing entertained as Officers among them, which
'occasions Differences betwixt their Ministers and
'the Officers of the Army.

'The same Day we came to *Edinburgh*, where
'we abide without Disturbance, saving that about
'Ten at Night, and before Day in the Morning,
'they sometimes fire three or four great Guns at
'us; and if any of our Men come within Musket-
'Shot, they fire at them from the Castle; but,
'blest be God, they have done us no Harm, ex-
'cept one Soldier shot, but not to the Danger of
'his Life, that I can be informed of.

'There are some few of the Inhabitants of *E-*
'*dinburgh* returned home, who perceiving our Ci-
'vility, and paying for what we receive of them,
'they repent their Departure, open their Shops,
'and bring Provisions to the Market.

'It is reported they have in the Castle Provisions
'for fifteen Months, some say for a longer Time.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

October.

‘ Generally the People acknowledge that our Carriage to them is better than that of their own Army; and had they, who are gone away, known so much, they would have stay’d at home; they say one chief Reason wherefore so many are gone, was, they fear’d we would have imposed upon them some Oath wherewith they could not have dispensed.

‘ I am in great Hopes, through God’s Mercy, we shall be able, this Winter, to give the People such an Understanding of the Justness of our Cause, and our Desires for the just Liberties of the People, that the better Sort of them will be satisfied therewith; although, I must confess, hitherto they continue obstinate. I thought I should have found in *Scotland* a conscientious People, and a barren Country; about *Edinburgh*, it is as fertile for Corn as any Part of *England*, but the People generally given to the most impudent Lying, and frequent Swearing, as is incredible to be believed. I am

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

The same Day Sir *William Armyn* reported, from the Council of State, the following Instructions for *Edmund Ludlow*, *Miles Corbett*, *John Jones*, and *John Weaver*, Esqrs. Commissioners from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, for settling the Affairs of *Ireland*, to be by them put in Execution, with the Advice and Approbation of General *Cromwell*, Lord-Lieutenant thereof, and *Henry Ireton*, Esq; his Deputy, or either of them.

Instructions for Commissioners appointed by Parliament to settle the Affairs of *Ireland*.

I. ‘ **T**HE said Commissioners are to improve the Interest of the Commonwealth of *England*, in the Dominion of *Ireland*, for the Advancement of Religion and Propagation of the Gospel in that Country, and for Suppression of Idolatry, Popery, Superstition, and Profaneness in that Land.

II. ‘ They

Inter-regnum.

1650.

October.

II. ' They are to give all due Encouragement
' to, and appoint competent Maintenance for, all
' such Persons of pious Life and Conversation, as
' they shall find qualified with Gifts for the preach-
' ing of the Gospel, and instructing the People
' there in all Godliness and Honesty, by way of
' Stipend out of the public Revenue.

III. ' To cause to be put in effectual Execution
' all Laws now in Force made against Papists and
' Popish Recusants.

IV. ' To consider of all due Ways and Means
' for the Advancement of Learning, and training
' up of Youth in Piety and Literature; and to pro-
' mote the same by settling of a Maintenance upon
' fit Persons to be employed therein, so far as they
' shall find the present State and Condition of the
' Affairs of *Ireland* to admit.

V. ' To cause the Acts, Ordinances, and Or-
' ders of Parliament, now in Force in this Com-
' monwealth, against Delinquents, malignant Plu-
' ralists and scandalous Ministers, to be put in
' Execution in *Ireland*.

VI. ' To inform themselves what Course is held
' (for present) in the Administration of Justice in
' *Ireland*; to consider what is further to be done,
' for the Settling and Establishment thereof in the
' several Provinces there, that the People may en-
' joy their Properties, Planters may be encouraged,
' and the Inhabitants govern'd according to the
' Laws and Constitutions of *England*, so far as the
' present Constitution of the Country will admit;
' and to certify their Opinions herein to the Parlia-
' ment with all convenient Speed; and in the mean
' Time to take Care that Justice be administer'd.

VII. ' To take Care that no Popish Malignant,
' or other delinquent Persons, be intrusted with, or
' employed in, the Administration of the Laws, or
' Execution of Justice; nor be permitted, directly
' or indirectly, by themselves or others, to practice
' as Counsellors at Law, Attornies, or Solicitors;
' nor to keep Schools for the training up of Youth,
' or

Inter-regnum.
1650.

October.

‘ or to be continued or employed in the Execution of any Place or Office of Trust.

VIII. ‘ To inform themselves of the State of the antient Revenue, and all the Profits of forfeited Lands; and to cause all Forfeitures and Escheats to be improved for the best Advantage of the Commonwealth of *England*; and to cause all Acts, Ordinances and Orders of Parliament, now in Force in this Commonwealth, for sequestring of Delinquents and Papists Estates, and of the Estates of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. to be put in Execution in *Ireland*.

IX. ‘ In order to the improving and settling of a competent Revenue there, for the Ends and Uses aforesaid, the Commissioners are empower’d to lett all such Lands, Houses, and other Hereditaments whatsoever in *Ireland*, as are in the Disposal of the Parliament of *England*; as also the Rents and Profits of all Ecclesiastical Benefices of such Ministers as shall be ejected; and of all such other Ecclesiastical Benefices as shall become vacant, and not otherwise disposed of by Act or Order of Parliament, for such Time or Term of Years, not exceeding seven, and at such Rents, or other Conditions, as they shall conceive to be most for the Public Advantage.

X. ‘ To settle the Excise and Customs in all Places in *Ireland*, according to the Rates now settled in this Commonwealth of *England*; and to advance the said Rates, or set new Rates upon such Commodities in *Ireland*, as they shall conceive may bear Advancement or Imposition, without Prejudice to Trade.

XI. ‘ To inform themselves in what Manner the Treasury of that Dominion hath been managed as to its Receipts and Issues, and of the Persons intrusted concerning the same; to consider how, for the future, there may be established one grand Treasurer in *Ireland*; what Persons are fitting to be employed to supply the Place of Treasurer of all such Monies as are or shall be received; and also of fit Persons to supply all other

Inter-regnum.
1650.

October.

‘ other Offices incident to the said Treasury, and
‘ what Salaries are fit to be settled upon them re-
‘ spectively ; and to certify the same to the Parlia-
‘ ment; and, in the mean Time, to take Care that
‘ the same may be managed for the best Advantage
‘ of the State.

XII. ‘ To take Care that the public Stores in
‘ *Ireland* be not embezled, or unnecessarily wasted ;
‘ and that due Accounts be kept thereof, and, from
‘ Time to Time, returned to the grand Treasury,
‘ there to remain and be placed to the respective
‘ proper Accounts.

XIII. ‘ To sit and vote at Councils of War, as
‘ often as they shall conceive it fit, in order to the
‘ equal Distribution and Regulation of Quarters
‘ for the standing Forces in *Ireland*, and for the
‘ better Settlement of Affairs there, relating to the
‘ said Forces, for public Advantage.

XIV. ‘ To consider of all due Ways and Means
‘ for the lessening of the Public Charge of the
‘ Commonwealth and reducing of the same, as
‘ well by disbanding of such Forces in *Ireland*, as
‘ they shall find to be supernumerary, or demo-
‘ lishing of Castles and Garrisons as by modera-
‘ rating and regulating the present Establishment
‘ of the Pay of the said Forces, and likewise by ta-
‘ king away all other superfluous Charge of what
‘ Kind soever wherewith the public Revenue is
‘ charged, and to put the same in Execution, so far
‘ as they shall find it may stand with public Safety
‘ and Advantage.

XV. ‘ To appoint Officers, and such other Per-
‘ sons as they shall conceive necessary for putting
‘ in Execution these Instructions, and to allow
‘ them fitting Salaries for the same; and, from
‘ Time to Time, to displace such of the said Per-
‘ sons, or any others employed in the Civil Affairs
‘ in *Ireland*, as they shall find useles, or not faith-
‘ ful in the Discharge of their Trust.

XVI. ‘ That all Warrants relating to the Pay-
‘ ment of the Army, either in Money or Provi-
‘ sions,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

October.

‘ fions, or for any other incident Charges concern-
 ‘ ing the War; and likewise all Warrants for the
 ‘ iffuing Ammunition out of the public Stores, do
 ‘ iffue by Warrant from the Lieutenant of *Ireland*
 ‘ or the Deputy, for the Time being, upon the
 ‘ Place as formerly: And that all other Warrants
 ‘ for iffuing of Money, relating to Affairs com-
 ‘ mitted by thefe Instructions to the faid Commif-
 ‘ fioners Care and Management, do iffue from
 ‘ them, or the Major Part of them.

XVII. ‘ That the faid Commissioners have
 ‘ Power to put in Execution in *Ireland* all the Au-
 ‘ thorities committed to the Committee of Parlia-
 ‘ ment for Indemnity, by any Ordinance or Act
 ‘ of Parliament.

XVIII. ‘ To certify their Proceedings, and what
 ‘ Obftuctions they meet with in the Execution of
 ‘ the Premiffes, to the Parliament or Council of
 ‘ State, to the end that fitting Means may be used
 ‘ for removing of Impediments and Supply of
 ‘ Power, as there fhall be Occafion.’

Mr. *Ludlow* ° writes, ‘ That he induftrioufly
 declined accepting the Office of Lieutenant-Gen-
 eral of the Horfe in *Ireland*, and of one of the Com-
 miffioners for the Adminiftration of Civil Affairs
 in that Nation, for many Reafons; but that upon
Cromwell’s urging, ‘ That Men’s private Affairs
 ‘ muft give Place to thofe of the Public; and that
 ‘ having ferioufly confidered the Matter he could
 ‘ not find a Perfon fo fit for thofe Employments as
 ‘ Mr. *Ludlow* himfelf; and that he might rely up-
 ‘ on God, who had called him to that Work, to
 ‘ carry him through it,’ he was prevailed upon to
 acquiefce; and accordingly foon after embark’d
 for *Ireland*. Thefe Commiffioners were allowed,
 by Parliament, a Salary of 1000*l.* per Annum each,
 during their Refidence in that Kingdom.

Oct. 10. This Day Alderman *Thomas Andrews*,
 Lord Mayor Elect of *London*, was prefented to the
 Houfe

House for their Confirmation of the City's Choice; which being granted, the Speaker address'd himself to his Lordship in a congratulatory Speech on the Occasion.—But this Compliment being the same, *in Terminis*, as that to his immediate Predecessor^p, we pass it over.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
October.

On the 16th of this Month the Council of State received the following Letter from Mr. *George Downing*; which, though it does not appear to have been read in the House, yet as it gives a very interesting Account of the State of the Royal Affairs in *Scotland* at this Time, it deserves a Place in these Inquiries.^a

Edinburgh, October 9, 1650.

Gentlemen,

‘ **H**ERE is old Snarling betwixt the Kirk and their King, so that never Men had more Cause to make it one Ground of Humiliation, as well of their Fears, that their King's Repentance was not sound, and from the Heart: For the main Contest is now whether the Ecclesiastic or Civil Parties shall sit in the Saddle. The Lords (most of them) side with the King, as if they meant to bid farewell to the Stool of Repentance for ever, and were glad to make use of this Opportunity, in hope to cast off the Yoke of the Clergy: On the other Side, divers Commanders (such as *Strachan* and *Carr*) keep close to the Kirk Interest, but Recruits come in very slowly upon that Score; which shews (now the Kirk-men are down the Wind) that their Power of the Keys signifies very little, without the Power of the Sword, in *Scotland*.

Mr. *Downing's* Relation of the State of the Royal Party in *Scotland*.

‘ Nevertheless they proceed still, with more than ordinary Confidence; and nothing less will content them than a total Purgation of the Royal Household, especially of such as are *English*, this being, in their Esteem, an Addition of Malignancy. The observing whereof may serve sufficiently to check the Folly of such of our own

‘ with

^p At p. 200, in this Volume.

^a Printed by *William Du Gard*, Printer to the Council of State.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

October.

‘ with you, that (to serve their own Ends) have
 ‘ endeavoured to introduce these inveterate Ene-
 ‘ mies into Power within the English Nation.

‘ The first of the Cavaliers that hath swallowed
 ‘ the bitter Pill of Banishment, is the Earl of *Cleve-*
 ‘ *land*, which he hath chosen to do, and accord-
 ‘ ingly provides for a Departure rather than swallow
 ‘ the Covenant. He alledges, in his own Defence,
 ‘ that he had a Promise from the *Scots* Commission-
 ‘ ers, that the Covenant should not be imposed
 ‘ upon him: But, no doubt then, it was upon a
 ‘ tacit Supposition that his Lordship would be in-
 ‘ clinable to serve the Kirk’s Designs; wherein he
 ‘ having deceived their Expectations, they now
 ‘ press the Covenant upon him, on Purpose to be
 ‘ rid of him; and so he must, though like a Royal
 ‘ Pilgrim in *Scots* Equipage, having been enforced
 ‘ to sell all, and part with his Linen and his very
 ‘ Shirts, to raise a Sum to waft him over the Ditch
 ‘ to a wandering Fortune. *Wentworth* is jogging
 ‘ likewise in the same Posture, but Sir *Edward*
 ‘ *Walker* is gone already into *Holland*, the only
 ‘ Refuge at present of the Runnagate-Courtiers;
 ‘ though they hated and maligned that Country
 ‘ more than any other in the World, in the Days
 ‘ of their Prosperity.

‘ The rest of them are all enjoined to be pack-
 ‘ ing, and none will be allow’d a Residence here
 ‘ with their King, save only the Duke of *Buck-*
 ‘ *ingham* and the Lord *Newburgh*, (known here-
 ‘ tofore by the Name of Sir *James Levingston*, in
 ‘ *England*) and these have little else to depend up-
 ‘ on save the Crumbs which fall from his Majesty’s
 ‘ Allowance. The other must shift beyond Sea,
 ‘ and a good Shift too they reckon it, if they can
 ‘ but procure Letters of Recommendation from the
 ‘ young Man’s own Hand; for Gold and Silver he
 ‘ hath none, not so much as to spare a Penny for
 ‘ their Journey: And not without much Difficulty
 ‘ can he bestow a poor begging Epistle in their Be-
 ‘ half; for his Condition is such, that, the Kirk
 ‘ watching him as strictly as a Cat doth a Mouse,

‘ he

‘ he dares not give any *Englishman* a Letter to his
‘ Friends in *Holland*, or any other Parts, but with
‘ great Privacy. I am

Inter-regnum
1650.

October.

Your most humble Servant,
G. DOWNING.

Sir *Edward Walker*, one of the Gentlemen mention’d in the foregoing Letter, confirms the Account therein given of the Treatment the King met with from the *Scots* at this Time, and more particularly from their Clergy, which, as he was an Eye Witness of it, we shall give in his own Words: ‘ He is outwardly serv’d and waited on with all fitting Ceremonies due to a King, but in his Liberty not much above a Prisoner; Centinels being every Night set about his Lodging, few daring to speak freely or privately to him, and Spies set on his Words and Actions. His Bedchamber is not free to himself; the Ministers almost daily thrusting in upon him to catechize and instruct him, and, I believe, to exact Repetitions from him. In a Word, he knows nothing of their Counsels, either Military or Civil, but what they please to communicate to him.’

Thus much by Way of Digression.

Oct. 17. The Parliament having appointed a Day of Thanksgiving throughout the whole Nation, for the Victory over the *Scots* Army at *Dunbar*, which many Presbyterian Ministers, both in Town and Country, neglected to observe, it was ordered, That the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the several Militias of that City, *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the Hamlets of the *Tower*, do give an Account to the House of all such Ministers, with-

An Account ordered to be taken of such Ministers as did not observe the Thanksgiving Day, for *Cromwell's* Victory at *Dunbar*.
p A short Journal of several Actions perform’d in the Kingdom of Scotland, after his Majesty’s first Arrival there out of *Holland*, June 24, 1650. O. S. until the End of October following, by Sir *Edward Walker*, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, who (being banish’d thence) return’d about that Time into *Holland*.

This makes up the third of his Historical Discourses, printed in 1705.

414 *The Parliamentary History*

Later-regnum.
1650.

October.

within their respective Jurisdictions, who had been guilty of this Defiance of their Authority : And it was referred to the Council of State to report to the House the Names of such Ministers, as they shall find most refractory or dangerous in disturbing the Peace of the Nation, or depraving the present Government, with their Opinion what was fit to be done therein, that the Parliament might take it into their further Consideration, and give Order accordingly.

The Bill touching future Elections reviv'd.

Oct. 23. The Parliament revived the Bill, so long dropt, concerning the future Election of Members to sit in that House; and this Day ordered that the next *Wednesday*, and each *Wednesday* in every Week, the House should be resolved into a Grand Committee upon it. It was also resolved that the said Committee should state the Proportions of Elections for the several Counties; and consider how, and in what Manner, the same might be made practicable for filling the House with Members according to those several Proportions.

Oct. 29. The House received Advice from General *Cromwell*, That he had sent a Letter to the Committee of Estates, then sitting at *St. John-stoun*, inviting them to give Satisfaction to the Commonwealth of *England*; and that as the Trumpeter, who was sent on this Errand, pass'd through *Stirling*, the People stopp'd him, crying *Peace, Peace*; and that the Governor promised to forward the Letter by a Messenger of his own, which was done: But that, after long Debate, the Committee gave no present Answer; which *Cromwell* imputed to the Lord's having delivered them up to Blindness and Senselessness; and that the Kirkmen being as high and arbitrary as ever, was, in his Opinion, a Testimony that the Lord would break their Pride, and confound all their Devices against his chosen People.

The

Of ENGLAND. 415

The General's Letter was in hæc Verba: Inter-regnum.

1650.

Linlithgow, Oct. 9, 1650.

October.

Right Honourable,

THE Grounds and Ends of the Army's entering Scotland, have been heretofore often Gen. Cromwell's Letter to the Committee of Estates in Scotland, requiring them to quit all Connections with the King.

and clearly made known unto you, and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without Blood; but, according to what Returns we have received, it is evident your Hearts had not that Love to us, as we can truly say we had towards you; and we are persuaded those Difficulties in which you have involved yourselves, by espousing your King's Interest, and taking into your Bosom that Person, in whom, notwithstanding what hath or may be said to the contrary, that which is really Malignancy, and all Malignants, do center; against whose Family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for Blood-guiltiness, not to be done away with such hypocritical and formal Shews of Repentance as are expressed in his late Declaration; and your strange Prejudices against us, as Men of heretical Opinions, (which, through the great Goodness of God to us, have been unjustly charged upon us) have occasioned your rejecting these Overtures which, with a Christian Affection, were offered to you before any Blood was spilt, or your People had suffered Damage by us. The daily Sense we have of the Calamity of War lying upon the poor People of this Nation, and the sad Consequences of Blood and Famine, likely to come upon them; the Advantage given to the malignant, profane, and popish, Party by this War; and that Reality of Affection which we have so often professed to you, and concerning the Truth of which we have so solemnly appealed, doth again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, that if the contending for that Person be not by you preferred to the Peace and Welfare of your Country, the Blood of your People, the Love of Men of the same Faith with you, and, in this

above

416 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1650.

October.

‘ above all, the Honour of that God we serve, then
 ‘ give the State of *England* that Satisfaction and Secu-
 ‘ rity for their peaceable, quiet Living by you, that
 ‘ may in Justice be demanded, from a Nation, gi-
 ‘ ving so just Ground to ask the same from those
 ‘ who have, as you, taken their Enemy into their
 ‘ Bosom, whilst he was in Hostility against them.
 ‘ And it will be made good to you, that you may
 ‘ have a lasting and durable Peace with them, and
 ‘ the With of a Blessing upon you in all religious
 ‘ and civil Things. If this be refused by you, we
 ‘ are persuaded that God, who hath once borne his
 ‘ Testimony, will do it again on the Behalf of us
 ‘ his poor Servants; who do appeal to him whe-
 ‘ ther their Desires flow from Sincerity of Heart
 ‘ or not. I rest

Your Lordships humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Acts passed for
selling of Bishops
Lands;

Regulating the
Sale of Meal;

And appointing
Convoys for
Trade.

The Acts passed this Month, besides that *For prohibiting Trade to Barbadoes, &c.* already mentioned, were, *For further enforcing and explaining former Ordinances and Acts for Sale of the Manors of Rectories impropriate, and Glebe Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters.* The Occasion of passing this was for better Maintenance of the Army and Navy. —An Act *For appointing where and how Corn and Meal shall be sold.* Hereby it was enacted, ‘ That no Person should buy Wheat or other Grain to sell in Meal without License, on Pain of forfeiting treble the Value; nor any Meal be sold, but in the same Quality and Condition as it came really from the Mill, without any Mixture whatsoever; and that in open Market.’ —An Act *For appointing Convoys for Security of Trade.* In order to support the Expence of which, the usual Allowance or Defalcation of Fifteen *per Cent.* out of the Customs was appointed solely to be applied; and if any Captain, or other Officer, of a Ship of War should ask or take any Reward or Gratuity from any Merchant for Convoy, he should forfeit treble

treble Value; one Moiety to the Use of the Commonwealth, and the other to the Informer, to be determined by the Court of Admiralty.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

November.

November. The House had ordered an Act to be brought in, for taking away the superstitious Observation of *All-Saints-Day*, and other Days in Term not juridical, and making them Court-Days; at the same Time they ordered the 5th of *November* to be no Court-Day. Accordingly the Parliament met on that Day, and, having adjourned to the next, they went to *Margaret's Church, Westminster*; where a Sermon was preached by Mr. *Philip Nye*, who had the Thanks of the House ordered him for his great Pains taken therein.

Nov. 6. An Act passed, prohibiting all Persons to assist the *Scots* with Victuals, Arms, or Ammunition against the Commonwealth of *England*, during the Enmity between the two Nations.

Nov. 8. The following Letter from Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, to the Council of State, was this Day communicated to the House, read, and ordered to be printed.

Gentlemen, Newcastle, Oct. 31, 1650.

I Received your Letter, dated the 26th of October. In that you desire me that 2300 of the *Scots* Prisoners, now at *Durham* or elsewhere, able and fit for Foot Service, be selected and marched thence to *Chester* and *Liverpool*, to be shipped for the South and West of *Ireland*; and that I should take special Care not to send any Highlanders: I am necessitated, upon the Receipt of this, to give you a full Account concerning the Prisoners.

After the Battle at *Dunbar*, in *Scotland*, my Lord-General wrote to me, that there were about 9000 Prisoners, and that of them he had

Sir Arthur Haselrigge's Account of the Scots Prisoners taken at the Battle of *Dunbar*.

VOL. XIX.

D d

set

From the original Edition, printed by W. Du-Gard.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

‘ set at Liberty all those that were wounded, and,
 ‘ as he thought, disabled for future Service; and
 ‘ their Number was, as Mr. *Downing* wrote, 5100.
 ‘ The rest the General sent to *Newcastle*, conduct-
 ‘ ed to *Berwick* by Major *Hopson*, and from *Ber-*
 ‘ wick to *Newcastle* by some Foot out of that Gar-
 ‘ rison, and a Troop of Horse.

‘ When they came to *Morpeth*, the Prisoners
 ‘ being put into a large wall’d Garden, they eat up
 ‘ raw Cabbages, Leaves and Roots, so many, as
 ‘ the very Seed and Labour, at 4*d.* a Day, was
 ‘ valued at 9*l.* which Cabbage (they having fasted,
 ‘ as they themselves said, near eight Days) poison’d
 ‘ their Bodies; for as they were coming from thence
 ‘ to *Newcastle*, some died by the Way-Side; when
 ‘ they came to *Newcastle*, I put them into the great-
 ‘ est Church in the Town; and the next Morning,
 ‘ when I sent them to *Durham*, about 140 were
 ‘ sick, and not able to march; three died that
 ‘ Night, and some fell down in their March from
 ‘ *Newcastle* to *Durham*, and died. I having sent
 ‘ my Lieutenant-Colonel and my Major with a
 ‘ strong Guard both of Horse and Foot, they being
 ‘ there told into the great Cathedral Church, were
 ‘ counted to no more than 3000; although Col.
 ‘ *Fenwick* wrote to me, that there were about
 ‘ 3500: But I believe they were not told at *Ber-*
 ‘ wick, and as to most of those that were lost,
 ‘ it was in *Scotland*; for I heard that the Officers
 ‘ who march’d with them to *Berwick*, were neces-
 ‘ sitated to kill about 30, fearing the Loss of them
 ‘ all, for they fell down in great Numbers, and
 ‘ said they were not able to march, and they
 ‘ brought them far in the Night, so that doubtless
 ‘ many ran away.

‘ When I sent them first to *Durham*, I wrote to
 ‘ the Mayor, and desired him to take Care that
 ‘ they wanted for nothing that was fit for Prisoners;
 ‘ and what he should disburse for them I would re-
 ‘ pay it. I also sent them a daily Supply of Bread
 ‘ from *Newcastle*, and an Allowance equal to what
 ‘ had been given to former Prisoners; but their
 ‘ Bodies

Inter-regnum,

1650.

November.

‘ Bodies being infected, the Flux increased among
 ‘ them. I sent many Officers to look to them, and
 ‘ ordered those who were sick to be removed out
 ‘ of the Cathedral Church into the Bishop’s Castle,
 ‘ which belongs to Mrs. *Blackiston*. Cooks were
 ‘ provided, and they had Pottage made with Oat-
 ‘ meal, Beef and Cabbage, a full Quart at a Meal
 ‘ for every Prisoner: They had also Coals daily
 ‘ brought them, as many as made about 100 Fires
 ‘ both Night and Day, and Straw to lie upon. I
 ‘ appointed the Marshal to see all these Things or-
 ‘ derly done, and he was allowed eight Men to
 ‘ help him to divide the Coals, Meat, Bread, and
 ‘ Pottage equally: They were so unruly, sluttish,
 ‘ and nasty, that it is not to be believed; they act-
 ‘ ed rather like Beasts than Men; so that the Mar-
 ‘ shal was allowed 40 Men of the lustiest Prisoners
 ‘ to cleanse and sweep them every Day; who had
 ‘ some small Thing given them extraordinary.
 ‘ The above Provisions were for those that were in
 ‘ Health; as to those that were sick, and in the
 ‘ Castle, they had very good Mutton Broth, and
 ‘ sometimes Veal Broth, and Beef and Mutton
 ‘ boiled together; and old Women appointed to
 ‘ look to them in the several Rooms: There was
 ‘ also a Physician to let them Blood, and dress such
 ‘ as were wounded, and give the Sick Physic; and
 ‘ I dare confidently say, there was never the like
 ‘ Care taken for any such Number of Prisoners in
 ‘ *England*.

‘ Notwithstanding all this many of them died,
 ‘ and few of any other Disease than the Flux; some
 ‘ were kill’d by themselves, for they were exceed-
 ‘ ing cruel one towards another. If any Man was
 ‘ perceived to have any Money, it was two to one
 ‘ but he was kill’d before Morning, and robb’d;
 ‘ and if any had good Cloaths, he that wanted, if
 ‘ he was able, would strangle the other and put on
 ‘ his Cloaths.

‘ The Disease of the Flux still increasing among
 ‘ them, I was then forced, for their Preservation,
 ‘ if possible it might be, to send to all the next
 D d 2 ‘ Towns

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

‘ Towns in *Durham*, within four or five Miles, to
 ‘ command them to bring in their Milk, for that
 ‘ was conceived to be the best Remedy for stopping
 ‘ of their Flux; and I promised them what Rates
 ‘ they usually sold it for at the Markets, which was
 ‘ accordingly perform’d by about 60 Towns and
 ‘ Places. Twenty of the next Towns to *Durham*
 ‘ continue to send daily in their Milk, which is
 ‘ boiled, some with Water, some with Bean Flower,
 ‘ the Physicians holding it exceeding good for the
 ‘ Recovery of their Health.

‘ Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange of
 ‘ this long Preamble; and wonder what the Mat-
 ‘ ter will be. In short it is this; out of the 3000
 ‘ Prisoners that my Officers told into the Cathedral
 ‘ Church at *Durham*, 300 of them, and 50 from
 ‘ *Newcastle* of the 140 left behind, were delivered
 ‘ to Major *Clarke*, by Order of the Council; there
 ‘ are about 500 Sick in the Castle, and about 600
 ‘ yet in Health in the Cathedral, the most of which
 ‘ are, in all Probability, Highlanders, they being
 ‘ hardier than the rest; and we have no other
 ‘ Means to distinguish them. About 1600 are
 ‘ dead and buried, and about 60 Officers are at the
 ‘ Marshal’s in *Newcastle*.

‘ My Lord-General having released the rest of
 ‘ the Officers, and the Council having given me
 ‘ Power to take what Men I thought fit, I have
 ‘ granted to several well-affected Persons that have
 ‘ Salt-Works at *Shields*, and want Servants, 40;
 ‘ they have engaged to keep them at Work at their
 ‘ Salt-Pans, and I have taken out about 12 more,
 ‘ Weavers, to begin a Trade of Linen Cloth, like
 ‘ the *Scots* Cloth, and about 40 Labourers.

‘ I cannot give you, on a sudden, a more exact
 ‘ Account of the Prisoners, neither can any Ac-
 ‘ count hold true long, because they still die daily,
 ‘ and doubtless so they will, so long as any remain
 ‘ in Prison. And for those that are well, if Ma-
 ‘ jor *Clarke* could have believed that they had been
 ‘ able to have marched on Foot, he would have
 ‘ marched them by Land; but we perceive that di-
 vers

vers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all been sick, suddenly die; and we cannot give any Reason for it, only we apprehend they are all infected; and that the Strength of some holds it out till it reaches their very Hearts.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

September.

Now you fully understand the Condition and Number of the Prisoners. What you please to direct I shall observe, and intend not to proceed further upon this Letter, untill I have your Answer upon what I have now written. I am,

Your most affectionate Servant,

AR. HASELRIGGE.

We find no Resolution of the House in consequence of this Letter: Probably it was referr'd back to the Council of State to do as they saw proper.

A Motion had been made in the House for converting the Law into *English*; and accordingly this Day, Nov. 8, the Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* brought in a Bill For turning the Books of Law, and all Procefs and Proceedings therein, into *English*; which was read a first and second Time, and committed.

The House now was very busy in nominating Sheriffs for the several Counties for the Year ensuing: This Act of Sovereignty, as well as the rest, having been long usurped by them.

Nov. 22. The last-mentioned Bill was read a third Time; and, in the Course of the Debate thereupon, some Members having spoke in Derogation of the *English* Laws, Mr. *Whitlocke* delivered his Opinion to the following Effect^a: The Importance of this Speech is a sufficient Apology for the Length of it.

Mr. Speaker,

THE Question upon which your present Debate ariseth, is of no small Moment, nor is it easily or speedily to be determined; for it comprehends

Mr. *Whitlocke's* Speech upon a Bill for translating all Proceedings at Law into *English*.

D d 3

^a *Memorials*, p. 460.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

prehends no less than a total Alteration of the Frame and Course of Proceedings of our Laws, which have been established and continued for so many Years.

‘ I should not have troubled you with any of my weak Discourse, but that I apprehend some Mistakes and Dishonour to the Law of *England*, if passed by without any Answer, may be of ill Consequence; and having attended to hear them answered by others, who are not pleased to do it, I held myself the more engaged, in the Duty of my Profession, to offer to your Judgment, to which I shall always submit, what I have met with; and do suppose not to be impertinent, for the rectifying of some Mistakes which are amongst us.

‘ A worthy Gentleman was pleased to affirm with much Confidence, as he brought it in upon this Debate, *That the Laws of England were introduced by William the Conqueror, as (among other Arguments he asserted) might appear by their being written in the French Tongue.*

‘ In his first Assertion, *That our Laws were introduced by William the Conqueror, out of France*, I shall acknowledge that he hath several, both foreign and domestic, Authors whom he may follow therein. The foreign Authors are *Jovius, Æmilius, Bodine, Hottoman, Dynothus, Volateran, Berault, Berkley, Choppinus Uspargensis, Malines, and Polydore*, who affirm this erroneous Piece of Doctrine; but the less to be regarded from them, because they were Strangers to our Laws, and took upon Trust what they published in this Point.

‘ Of our own Countrymen they have *Paris, Malmesbury, Matthew Westminster, Fox, Cosins, Twyne, Heyward, Mills, Fulbeck, Cowell, Ridley, Brown, Speed, Martin*, and some others.

‘ All of them affirm, *That the Laws of England were introduced by William the Conqueror*: But their Errors are refuted by Sir Roger Owen, in his Manuscript; who saith, *That Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris were the first Monks that hatched these addle Eggs,*

‘ I shall endeavour to shew you, that the Original of our Laws is not from the *French*; that they were not introduced by *William* the Conqueror out of *Normandy*; and I shall humbly offer to you my Answer to some of their Arguments who are of a contrary Opinion.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
November,

‘ *Polydore, Hist. Ang. Lib. ix.* affirmeth, That *William* the Conqueror first appointed Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace; erected Tenures; brought in Trials by twelve Men; and several other Particulars of our Laws.

‘ For Sheriffs; their Name, *Scire Reeve*, shews them to be of the *Saxon* Institution. And our Histories mention the Division of Shires by King *Alfred*; but, in Truth, it was much more antient. And it is apparent by our Books and Records, some whereof are in the *Hustings* of *London*, and in the *Tower*, that the same Things were in Use here long before the Time of King *William I.*

‘ Sir *Roger Owen* shews at large, That Livery of Seisin, Licences, or Fines for Alienation, Daughters to inherit, Trials by Juries, Abjurations, Outlawries, Coroners, disposing of Lands by Will, Escheats, Goals, Writs, Wrecks, Warranties, *Cattalla Felonum*, and many other Parts of our Law, and the Forms of our Parliaments themselves, were here in being before the Time of Duke *William*. Agreeing hereunto are many of our Historians and learned Antiquaries.

‘ But it is objected, That in the Grand Customary of *Normandy*, the Laws are almost all the same with ours of *England*, and the Form of their Parliaments the same with ours: That the Writer of the Preface to that Book saith, It contains only the Laws and Customs which were made by the Princes of *Normandy*, by the Counsel of their Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other wise Men; which shews the Forms of their Parliaments to be the same with ours, and the Laws in that Book to be the proper Laws of *Normandy*, and ours to be the same; therefore they argue, That our Laws were introduced from thence by *William* the Conqueror.

‘ This

Inter-régnum.

1650.

November.

' This will be fully answered, if that *Grand Customary* of *Normandy* was composed in our King *Edward* the First's Time, as good Authors hold it was ; then it cannot be that our Laws or Parliaments could be derived from thence. These learned Men say, That this *Customary* was a meer Translation of our Law-Book *Glanvill* ; as the Book of *Regia Majestas*, of the Laws of *Scotland*, is ; and the like of the Laws of *Burgundy*. They further add, That the first establishing of the *Customary* of *Normandy* was in *Henry* the First's Time ; and afterwards again, about the Beginning of *Edward* the Second's Time.

' If the Laws in the *Customary* were introduced there from *England*, it will then be granted, That the Laws of *England* were not introduced here by *William* the Conqueror : But I think it very clear that their Laws were brought to them out of *England* ; and then you will agree to the Conclusion.

' Our King *Henry* the First conquer'd *Normandy* from his Brother *Robert*, and was a learned King, as his Name, *Beauclerk*, testifies ; whom *Juo* calls *An especial Establisher of Justice*. *Sequerius* relates, That this King established the *English* Laws in *Normandy*. Herewith do agree *Gulielmus Brito Armoricus*, *Rutelarius*, and other *French* Writers ; who mention also, That the Laws in the *Customary* of *Normandy* are the same with the Laws collected by our *English* King *Edward* the Confessor, who was before the Conqueror. An additional Testimony hereof is out of *Willicgn de Alençon Reville* ; who, in his Comment upon the *Customary*, saith, That all the Laws of *Normandy* came from the *English* Laws and Nation.

' In the *Customary* there is a Chapter of *Nampes*, or *Distresses*, and decreed that one should not bring his Action upon any Seizure, but from the Time of the Coronation of King *Richard* ; and this must be our King *Richard* I. because no King of *France* was in that Time of that Name ; and the Words, *Nampes* and *Withernams* were *Saxon* Words, taken out of the *English* Laws, signifying a *Pawn* or *Distress* ;

strefs; and in the same Sense are used in the *Customary*.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

‘ That which puts it further out of Scruple, is, That there are yet extant the Manuscripts themselves of the *Saxon Laws*, made in the Parliamentary Counsels held by them here, which are in the Language and Character of those Times, and contain in them many of those Things which are in the *Norman Customary*.

‘ It is no improbable Opinion, that there was a former Establishment of our Laws in *Normandy*, before the Time of *Henry* the First, and that it was by *Edward* the Confessor; who, as all Writers of our History agree, was a great Collector and Compiler of our *English Laws*. He lived a long Time with his Kinsman Duke *William*, in *Normandy*, who was willing to please the Confessor, in hopes to be appointed by him to be his Successor; wherein the Duke’s Expectation did not fail him.

‘ The Confessor having no Children, and finding *Normandy* without a settled Government, and wanting Laws, advised his Kinsman Duke *William* to receive from him the Laws of *England*, which he had collected, and to establish them in *Normandy*; which Duke *William* and his Lords readily accepted for the Good of their People, and thereby obliged the Confessor.

‘ Another Proof hereof is, That such Laws as the *Normans* had before the Time of Duke *William*, were different from those in the *Customary*, and from the *English Laws*; as their Law, That the Husband should be hang’d if the Wife was a Thief, and he did not discover it; the meaner People were as Slaves, and the like; and the Trial of Theft by Ordeal, which then was not in *England*.

‘ *Wigorniensis* reports, That the *Normans* who came in with Queen *Emma*, the Wife of *Ethelred*, were so hated of the *English* for their Injustice and false Judgment, that, in the Time of King *Canutus*, they were for this Cause banished; and it is
the

426 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

the less probable that they, being so unjust themselves, should introduce so just Laws as ours are.

‘ Between the Conquest of *Normandy* by *Rollo*, and the Invasion of *England* by Duke *William*, there were not above 150 Years; that of *Normandy* was about *Ann.* 912; that of *England*, *Ann.* 1060. It is not then consonant to Reason, that those *Normans*, Pagans, a rough martial People, descended from so many barbarous Nations, should, in the Time of 150 Years, establish such excellent Laws among themselves, and so different from the *French* Laws, among whom they were, and all Parts in the World except *England*; and such Laws which were not only fit for their Dukedom and small Territory, but fit also for this Kingdom, which, in those Days, was the second in *Europe* for Antiquity and Worth, by Confession of most foreign Historians.

‘ If we will give Credit to their own Authors, this Point will be sufficiently evinced by them: These Words are in the Proëme of the *Customary*, which is intitled *Descriptio Normanniæ, hucusque Normanniæ Consuetudinis Latorem sive Datorem, Sanctum Edwardum Angliæ Regem, &c.*

‘ The same is witnessed by *Chronica Chronicorum*, That *St. Edward*, King of *England*, gave the Laws to the *Normans*, when he was long harboured there; and that he made both the Laws of *England* and *Normandy*, appears sufficiently by the Conformity of them; for which he cites several Particulars, as of Appeals, and the Custom of *England*, *ad probandum aliquid per Credentiam duodecim Hominum vicinorum*; which, he saith, remained in *Normandy* to that Day.

‘ *Polydore*, forgetting himself what he wrote in another Place, saith of King *Henry* the Seventh, That when a Doubt was made upon the Proposal of Marriage of his Daughter to *Scotland*, that thereby *England* might in Time be subject unto *Scotland*, the King answered, No; and that *England*, as the greater, will draw it to *Scotland*, being the less, and incorporate it to the Laws of *England*

land; as, saith the Historian, it did *Normandy*, though the Owner thereof was Conqueror in *England*.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.]

‘ And Sir *Roger Owen*, in his MSS. affirms, That there is not any of our Historians, that lived in the Space of 200 Years immediately after the Conquest, which doth describe our Laws to be taken away, and the *Norman* Custom introduced, by the Conqueror. Some of them, and not improbably, mention the Alteration of some Part of them; and the bringing in some *Norman* Customs effectual for the keeping of the Peace.

‘ There is yet behind the great Argument most insisted on, and often urged by the Gentlemen of another Opinion, which is the Title of *William*, who is called *the Conqueror*, from whence they conclude, That, by his Conquests, he changed the Laws and Government of this Nation; and that his Successors reckon the Beginning of their Reigns from his Conquest.

‘ To this is answered, That *â posse ad esse non valet Argumentum*: The conquering of the Land is one Thing, the introducing of new Laws is another Thing; but there is direct Proof to the contrary of this Argument.

‘ Duke *William* never surnamed himself *the Conqueror*, nor was so called in his Life-time, as may appear by all the Letters Patents, and Deeds that he made; wherein he is called *Gulielmus Rex, Dux, &c.* never *Conquestor*; and our antient Historians give him the same Titles, and not that of Conqueror. In the Title of *Newbrigenfis*’s Book, he is surnamed *William the Bastard*. *Malmsbury* calls him *William the First*. *Hoveden*, *William the Elder*. *Adam de Myrimuth* saith, That 1 *Ed. III.* this Word, *Conquest*, was found out to denote and distinguish the certain *Edward*, because two of the same Name were Predecessors to this King, and to the Conqueror, who claimed the Crown as Heir to *Edward the Confessor*; but, saith he, we call him the Conqueror, for that he overcame *Harold*.

‘ Duke

428 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

‘ Duke *William* himself claimed to be King of *England*, as Successor and adopted Heir of the Confessor by his Will, and *Harold*’s renouncing of his Title by Oath.

‘ The Register of *St. Alban*’s, *Matthew Paris*, and others, attest, That the Barons of *England* did Homage to him as Successor; and he relied on them in his foreign Wars; and the Check given to him by the *Kentish Men*, and the Forces gathered by the Abbot of *St. Alban*’s, brought him to engage to confirm the Laws of the Confessor; and, as his Successor by legal Right, they admitted him to be their King. *Volateran* writes, That he was made Heir to the Confessor, who was Uncle to him. Another affirms, That *Edward*, by his Will, left *England* to him. *Paulus Emilius* and *Fulgafius* are to the same Purpose. Pope *Alexander* the Second sent him a Banner, as Witness that, with a safe Conscience, he might expel *Harold* the Tyrant, because the Crown was due to him by the Confessor’s Will and by *Harold*’s Oath. Agreeable hereunto are *Gemeticensis*, *Walsingham*, *Malmfbury*, *Huntington*, *Ingulphus*, *Paris*, *Pike*, *Wendover*, *Caxton*, *Gisborn*, and others.

‘ The antient Deeds of the Abbey of *Westminster*, which were sometimes in my Custody, do prove this. King *William*, in his Charter to them, sets forth his own Title to the Crown thus, *Beneficio Concessionis Cognati mei, & gloriosi Regis, Edwardi*. In his second Charter, dated *Anno 15*. of his Reign, he saith, *In Honour of King Edward, who made me his Heir, and adopted me to rule over this Nation*. In his Charter, dated 1088, of the Liberties of *St. Martin*’s the Great, in the Manuscript thereof are these Words: *In Example of Moses who built the Tabernacle, and of Solomon, who built the Temple, Ego Gulielmus Dei Dispositione, & Consanguinitatis Hæreditate, Anglorum Basileus, &c.*

‘ The Charter of *Henry* the First, his Son, to this Abbey, *In Honour of Edward my Kinsman, who adopted*

adopted my Father and his Children to be Heirs to this Kingdom, &c. In another Charter of *Henry* the First, in the Book of *Eli*, he calls himself the Son of King *William* the Great, who, by hereditary Right, succeeded King *Edward*.

Inter-regnum
1650.

November.

‘ It is true, that as to his Pretence of Title by the Will of the Confessor, *Matthew Paris* objecteth, That the Device was void, being without the Consent of the Barons.

‘ To which may be answered, That probably the Law might be so in *Henry* the First’s Time, when *Paris* wrote, and was so taken to be in the Statute of *Carlisle*, and in the Case of King *John*: But at the Time of Duke *William*’s Invasion, the Law was taken to be, That a Kingdom might be transferred by Will. So was that of *Sixtus Rufus*; and *Asia* came to the Romans by the Will of King *Attalus*; the Words by *Annæus Florus* are, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum Hæres esto*. *Bythia* came to the Romans by the last Will of their King *Nicomedes*, which is remembered by *Eutropius*, together with that of *Lybia*. *Cicero*, in his Orations, tells us, That the Kingdom of *Alexandria*, by the last Will of their King, was devolved to *Rome*. And *Prasitagus Rex Icenorum* in *England*, upon his Death-Bed, gave his Kingdom to the Emperor *Nero*.

‘ As to Examples in this Point at home, this King *William* the First, by his Will, gave *England* to his younger Son *William Rufus*. King *Stephen* claimed by the Will of *Henry* the First. King *Henry* the Eighth had Power by Act of Parliament to order the Succession of the Crown as he pleased by Will. And the Lords of the Council, in Queen *Mary*’s Time, wrote to her, That the Lady *Jane*’s Title to the Crown, was by the Will and Letters of *Edward* the Sixth.

‘ As the Case of *Henry* the Eighth was by Act of Parliament; so Duke *William*, after he had conquered *Harold*, was, by the general Consent of the Barons and People of *England*, accepted for their King, and so his Title by Will confirmed; and he both

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

both claimed and governed the Kingdom, as an Heir and Successor; confirmed their antient Laws, and ruled according to them.

‘ This appears by *Chronica Chronicorum*, speaking of *William* the Bastard, King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, he saith, *That whereas St. Edward had no Heir of England*, *William*, having conquered *Harold the Usurper*, obtained the Crown under this Condition, *That he should inviolably observe these Laws given by the said Edward*.

‘ It is testified likewise by many of our Historians, That the antient Laws of *England* were confirmed by Duke *William*. *Jornalensis* saith, That out of the *Merchen-Lage*, *West-Saxon-Lage*, and *Dane-Lage*, the Confessor composed the Common Law, which remains to this Day. *Malmfbury*, who lived in Duke *William*’s Time, saith, That the Kings were sworn to observe the Laws of the Confessor, so called, saith he, because he observed them most religiously.

‘ But to make this Point clear out of *Ingulphus*. He saith, in the End of his Chronicle, *I Ingulphus brought with me from London, into my Monastery, (Crowland) the Laws of the most righteous King Edward, which my Lord King William did command by his Proclamation to be authentic and perpetual, and to be observed throughout the whole Kingdom of England, upon Pain of most heinous Punishment*. The Ledger-Book of the Abbey of *Waltham* commends Duke *William*, for restoring the Laws of the *Englishmen* out of the Customs of their Country. *Radburn* follows this Opinion; and these Laws of *Edward* the Confessor are the same, in part, which are contained in our Great Charter of Liberties. A Manuscript, intituled *De Gestis Anglorum*, saith, That, at a Parliament at *London*, 4. *William* the First, the Lawyers also present, that the King might hear their Laws, he established *St. Edward*’s Laws, they being formerly used in King *Edgar*’s Time. There is also Mention of the twelve Men out of every County, to deliver truly the State of their Laws.

The

The same is remembered by *Selden, History of Tythes, and Titles of Honour*; and in a MSS. Chronicle, bound with the Book of *Eli* in Cotton's Library.

Inter-regnum;
1650.
November.

‘ One of the worthy Gentlemen from whom I differ in Opinion, was pleased to say, *That if William the Conqueror did not introduce the Laws of Normandy into England, yet he conceives our Laws to be brought out of France hither in the Time of some other of our Kings, who had large Territories in France, and brought in their Laws hither, else he wonders how our Laws should be in French.*

‘ Sir, I shall endeavour to satisfy his Wonder therein by-and-by; but, first, with your Leave, I shall offer to you some Probabilities out of History, That the Laws of *England* were by some of those Kings carried into *France*, rather than the Laws of *France* brought hither. This is expressly affirmed by *Paulus Jovius*, who writes, That when the *English* Kings reigned in a great Part of *France*, they taught the *French* their Laws. *Sabellicus*, a *Venetian* Historian, writes, That the *Normans*, in their Manners and Customs, and Laws, followed the *English*. *Polydore Vergil*, contradicting himself in another Place then before cited, relates, That, in our King *Henry* the First's Time, the Duke of *Bedford* called together the chief Men of all the Cities in *Normandy*; and delivered, in his Oration to them, the many Benefits that the *English* afforded them, especially in that the *English* gave to them their Customs and Laws. By the Chronicle of *Eltham*, *Henry* the Fifth sent to *Caen* in *Normandy*, not only Divines but *English* common Lawyers, by the Agreement at *Troys*. So there is much more Probability that the Laws of *England* were introduced into *France* and *Normandy*, than that the Laws of *Normandy*, or any other Part of *France*, were introduced in *England*.

‘ If the *Normans* had been Conquerors of *England*, as they were not, but their Duke was only Conqueror of *Harold*, and received as hereditary King

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

King of *England*, yet it is not probable they would have changed our Laws, and have introduced theirs, because they did not use to do so upon other Conquests. The *Normans* conquered the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, yet altered not their Laws; which, in their local Customs, are like unto ours. The like they did in *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Apulia*, where they were Conquerors, yet the antient Laws of those Countries were continued.

‘ I hope, Mr. Speaker, I have, by this Time, given some Satisfaction to the worthy Gentlemen who differed from me, That the Laws of *England* were not imposed upon us by the Conqueror, nor brought over hither, either out of *Normandy*, or any other Part of *France*; but are our antient native Laws. I must now come to endeavour also to satisfy the Wonder, *If they were not brought out of Normandy, or some other Part of France, how come they then to be written in the French Language?*

‘ Sir, It is to me an Argument, that because they are written in *French*, therefore they were not brought in by Duke *William* the *Norman*; for the *French* Tongue was not the Language of Duke *William* and the *Normans*. They had not been then, in Duke *William*’s Time, past four Descents in that Part of *France*; and it is improbable that they, in so short a Time, should lose their native Tongue, and take up and use the Language of another Country which was conquered by them.

‘ The *Normans* came from *Sweden*, *Gothland*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*; between whose Languages, and with the *High-Dutch*, their Neighbours, there is a great Affinity; but between these Languages and the *French* there is none at all. *Ulpilius* holds, That the *Dutch* Tongue came from the *Goths*. *Jornandus* saith, The *Goths* Tongue came from the *Dutch*. All agree, that between these Languages and the *French* there is no Affinity.

‘ It is so improbable that Duke *William* should cause our Laws to be in *French*, that, when he proclaimed them, as *Ingulphus* testifies, he commanded

manded that they should be used in the same Language, they were written (in *English*) to his Justices; and gives the Reason, lest, by Ignorance, we should happen to break them.

‘ But it hath been further objected, *If Duke William did not cause our Laws to be written in French, what then should be the Reason that the Grand Customary of his Norman Laws were written in the French Tongue?*

‘ The Reason thereof is given, That the *Normans*, being a rough and martial People, had few Clerks among them; but made Use of those *French* among whom they then lived, and whose Language they then began to be acquainted with and to understand: But when they were in *England*, they had not so much Use of those Clerks, and that Language, but more of the *English*; and probably it might be, that the Confessor had been so long in *France*, that he was more Master of that Language than of the *Norman*; and that the *Normans* understood that Language better than the *English*; and thereupon the *Customary* was written in the *French Tongue*: But it doth not therefore follow, that Duke *William* must cause the *English* Laws to be written in the *French Tongue*; but it is more likely that he might cause them to be continued in their native Idiom, which was much nearer in Affinity to his own Northern Language than the *French* was.

‘ That the *French Tongue* was not introduced, as to our Laws and other Things, by Duke *William* into *England*, appears in that the *French* was in great Use with us here, both before and some Time after his Invasion.

‘ *Beda* affirms, That, in *Anno* 640, it was the Custom of *England* to send their Daughters into the Monasteries of *France*, to be brought up there; and that *Ethelbert*, *Ethelwoulf*, *Ethelred*, and other *Saxon* Kings, married into the Royal Blood of *France*. *Glabor* notes, That, before the Time of Duke *William*, the *Normans* and *English* did so link together, that they were a Terror to foreign Nations.

Inter-regnum

1650.

November.

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

Nations. *Ingulphus* saith, That the *Saxon Hand* was used untill the Time of King *Alfred*, long before the Time of Duke *William*; and that he being brought up by *French Teachers*, used the *French Hand*: And he notes many Charters of *Edred* and *Edgar*, written in the *French Hand*, and some *Saxon* mix'd with it, as in the Book of *Doomsday*: That *Edward* the Confessor, by reason of his long being in *France*, was turned into the *French Fashion*, and all *England* with him: But that *William* the First commanded our Laws to be written in the *English Tongue*, because most Men understood it; and that there be many of his Patents in the *Saxon Tongue*.

' I suppose we may be satisfied that *William* the First did not cause our Laws to be written in *French*, though the *French Language* was much in Use here before his Time. And if he did not introduce the *French Language* into *England*, the Argument falls, *That because they are written in French, therefore he brought them in.*

' But, Sir, I shall offer you some Conjectures, how it came that our Laws were written in *French*; which I suppose might be begun in the Time of our King *Henry* the Second, who was a *Frenchman* born, and had large Territories and Relations in *France*; many of his Successors had the like, and very much to do in *France*, and with *Frenchmen*, of whom great Numbers came into *England*; and they and the *English* matched and lived together, both here and in some Parts of *France*. Hence it came to pass, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* notes, that the *English Tongue* was in great Use in *Bordeaux*, and in other Parts of *France* where the *Englishmen* were resident and conversant; the like was when the *Frenchmen* were so conversant in *England*.

' *Matthew Westminster* writes, That he was in Hazard of losing his Living, because he understood not the *French Tongue*; and that in King *Henry* the Second and King *Stephen's* Time, who had large Dominions in *France*, their native Country,

try, the Number of *French*, and of Matches with them, was so great, that one could hardly know who was *French* and who was *English*. *Gervasius Tilburiensis* observes the same; and *Brackland* writes, That in *Richard* the First's Time Preaching in *England* was in the *French* Tongue; probably Pleading might be so likewise: And, in King *John*'s Time, *French* was accounted as the Mother Tongue.

Inter-regnum
1650.
November,

' There are scarce any Deeds of our Kings in *French*, before *Henry* the Second's Time; the most are in *Edward* the First and *Edward* the Second's Time.

' That our Laws were pleaded and written in *French* before *Edward* the Third's Time, appears by the Statute, 36. *Edw.* III. cap. 15, which recites the Mischief of the Law being in *French*; and enacts, That the Law shall hereafter be pleaded in *English*, -and enrolled in *Latin*.

' This is one Ground of the mistaken Opinion of *Lambert*, *Polydore*, *Speed*, and others, that Duke *William* brought in hither both the *Norman* Laws and Language; which I apprehend to be fully answered, and the contrary manifested, by what I have said before on this Subject.

' *Polydore*'s Mistake may appear the more when he asserts, That by this Statute 36. *Edw.* III. Matters are to be enrolled in *English*; which is contrary to the express Words, That they are to be enrolled in *Latin*. Many of our Law-Books were written in *Latin*, before the *Norman* Invasion, as appears by the antient Rolls of Manors and Courts Baron, and our old Authors, *Glanvill*, *Bracton*, *Tilbury*, *Hengham*, *Fleta*, the Register, and Book of Entries. The Records at *Westminster* and the *Tower*, and other Records yet extant, are in *Latin*; and many Books of our Law, in *Latin*, were translated into *English* about *Edward* the Third's Time.

' Most of our Statutes, from *Edward* the First's Time, till about the Middle of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, are enrolled in *French*, notwithstanding

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

this Statute 36. *Edw. III.* except the Statute, 6. *Rich. II.* and some others, in *Latin*. *Richara* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth, used to write their Letters in *French*, and some of our Pleadings are in *French*, and in the Common-Pleas, to our Time. But, Sir, our Law is *Lex non scripta*, I mean our Common Law: And our Statutes, Records, and Books which are written in *French*, are no Argument that therefore the Original of our Laws is from *France*; for they were in being before any of the *French* Language was in our Laws.

Fortescue writes, That the *English* kept their Accounts in *French*; yet doubtless they had Accounts here, and Revenues, before the *French* Language was in use here. Lord *Coke* saith, That the Conqueror taught the *English* the *Norman* Terms of Hawking, Hunting, Gaming, &c. yet no doubt but that these Recreations were in use with us before his Time. And though Duke *William*, or any other of our Kings before or after his Time, did bring in the *French* Tongue amongst us; yet that is no Argument that he or they did change or introduce our Laws, which undoubtedly were here long before those Times; and some of them, when the *French* Tongue was so much in use here, were translated, written, and pleaded, and recorded in the *French* Tongue, yet remained the same Laws still. And from that great Use of the *French* Tongue here, it was that the Reporters of our Law Cases and Judgments which were in those Times, did write their Reports in *French*; which was the pure *French* in that Time, though mix'd with some Words of Art. Those Terms of Art were taken many of them from the *Saxon* Tongue, as may be seen by them yet used. And the Reporters of later Times, and our Students at this Day, use to take their Notes in *French*; following the old Reports which they had studied, and the old *French*, which, as in other Languages, by Time came to be varied.

‘ I shall not deny but that some Monks in elder Times, and some Clerks and Officers, might have a Cunning, for their private Honour and Profit, to keep up a Myſtery, to have as much as they could of our Laws to be in a Kind of Myſtery to the Vulgar, to be the leſs underſtood by them; yet the Counſellors at Law, and Judges, could have no Advantage by it: But perhaps it would be found, that the Law’s being in *Engliſh*, and generally more underſtood, yet not ſufficiently, would occaſion the more Suits: And poſſibly there may be ſomething of the like Nature as to the Court-Hand; yet if the more common Hands were uſed in our Law Writings, they would be the more ſubject to Change, as the *Engliſh* and other Languages are, but not the *Latin*. Surely the *French* Tongue, uſed in our Reports and Law-Books, deſerves not to be ſo enviously decried as it is by *Polydore*, *Eliot*, *Daniel*, *Hotoman*, *Cowel*, and other Cenſurers.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

‘ But, Mr. Speaker, if I have been tedious, I humbly aſk your Pardon, and have the more Hopes to obtain it from ſo many worthy *Engliſh* Gentlemen, when that which I have ſaid was chiefly in Vindication of their own native Laws, unto which I held myſelf the more obliged by the Duty of my Profeſſion; and I account it an Honour to me to be a Lawyer.

‘ As to the Debate and Matter of the Act now before you, I have delivered no Opinion againſt it; nor do I think it reaſonable that the Generality of the People of *England* ſhould, by an implicit Faith, depend upon the Knowledge of others in that which concerns them moſt of all. It was the *Romiſh* Policy to keep them in Ignorance of Matters pertaining to their Souls Health; let them not be in Ignorance of Matters pertaining to their Bodies, Eſtates, and all their worldly Comfort. It is not unreaſonable that the Law ſhould be in that Language which may beſt be underſtood by thoſe whoſe Lives and Fortunes are ſubject to it, and are to be governed by it. *Moses* read all the Laws openly before the People in their Mother Tongue; God

Inter-regnum.

1650.

November.

directed him to write it, and to expound it to the People in their own native Language, that what concerned their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, might be made known unto them in the most perspicuous Way, The Laws of the Eastern Nations were in their proper Tongue. The Laws at *Constantinople* were in *Greek*; at *Rome*, in *Latin*; in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other Nations, their Laws are published in their native Idiom. For your own Country, there is no Man that can read the *Saxon* Character, but may find the Laws of your Ancestors yet extant in the *English* Tongue. Duke *William* himself commanded the Laws to be proclaimed in *English*, that none might pretend Ignorance of them. It was the Judgment of the Parliament, 36. *Edw. III.* That Pleadings should be in *English*; and in the Reigns of those Kings when our Statutes were enrolled in *French* and *English*, yet then the Sheriffs in their several Counties were to proclaim them in *English*.

‘ I shall conclude with a Complaint of what I have met with abroad from some military Persons, nothing but Scoffs and Invectives against our Law, and Threats to take it away; but the Law is above the Reach of those Weapons which, at one Time or another, will return upon those that use them. Solid Arguments, strong Reasons, and Authorities, are more fit for Confutation of any Error, and Satisfaction of different Judgments. When the Emperor took a Bishop in complete Armour, in a Battle, he sent the Armour to the Pope, with this Word, *Hæcine sunt Vestes Filii tui?* So may I say to those Gentlemen abroad, as to their Railings, Taunts, and Threats against the Law, *Hæcine sunt Argumenta horum Antinomianorum?* They will be found of no Force, but recoiling Arms. Nor is it ingenious or prudent for *Englishmen* to deprave their Birth-right, the Laws of their own Country.

‘ But to return to the Matter in Debate: I can find neither Strangeness, nor foresee great Inconvenience, by passing of this Act; and therefore, if the
House

House shall think fit to have the Question put for the passing of it, I am ready to give my Affirmative.

Inter-regna n.
1650.

November.

The Arguments advanced by our learned Memorialist had such Weight, that the Bill pass'd unanimously into a Law. And tho' this Act, made by a Commonwealth, fell of itself at the Restoration, when antient Forms began again, and ran on in their usual Course and Channel: Yet the Thought of it has been revived in our own Days, brought again into an Act, and is likely to be sent down to Posterity. But whether a noble dead Language, which has suffer'd no Variation in it for above these thousand Years last past, is not better to preserve Records in than so flux a one as *English*, we leave to the Lawyers; especially when 'tis well known that the polite Language of the Court in *Chaucer's* Days is scarce intelligible now; and our own, though we think it brought up to the highest Perfection, may be as little understood 400 Years hence.

Nov. 26. A Letter of Advice of a great Victory, obtained by the Parliament's Forces in *Ireland*, address'd to the President of the Council of State, was this Day read in the House as follows:

My Lord,

Kilkenny, Nov. 4, 1650.

THE State of Affairs here, since my last unto your Lordship, presents itself thus: Upon the 6th of *October* last Col. *Axtell*, Governor of *Kilkenny*, drew what Forces could be spared out of this Place, and other adjacent Garrisons, viz. 800 Horse and Foot, and march'd towards *King's County*; both to supply and settle our Garrisons in those Parts, lying upon the *Shannon* Side, being Frontiers upon the Enemy, as also to put them into a tenable and defensive Posture, as well to prevent the Enemy from quartering there, as to secure our own Quarters from their Incursions.

Account of a Victory gain'd by the Parliament's Forces, against the Marquis of *Glanrickard*, in *Ireland*.

Before

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November,

‘ Before he came thither he had certain Intelli-
 ‘ gence that, upon our Northern Forces drawing
 ‘ themselves from *Athlone*, the Enemy in *Con-*
 ‘ *naught*, taking that Advantage, came over the
 ‘ *Shannon*; their Number was 3000 Foot and
 ‘ about 300 Horse, all under the Command of
 ‘ *Clanrickard*, whom *Ormond* had lately made his
 ‘ Deputy, and had besieged *Kilcolgan*, a Garrison
 ‘ of ours; and the Night before had taken *Forbawne*
 ‘ Castle, another of our Garrisons, and block’d up
 ‘ a Pass which is an Inlet to *Kilcolgan*. Col. *Ax-*
 ‘ *tell*, with a small Body, faced the Pass, and drew
 ‘ back with his main Body to attempt another Pass;
 ‘ but when he came thither he found it strongly
 ‘ fortified with Breast-works, and mann’d with
 ‘ Horse and Foot; besides there was a deep River,
 ‘ tho’ but narrow, between him and the Enemy.
 ‘ They had an Hour’s Dispute, each being drawn
 ‘ up in full Bodies on either Side the River. The
 ‘ Enemy lost 150 Men, of Horse and Foot; we
 ‘ only one Lieutenant, besides five or six Soldiers
 ‘ that were wounded. In respect of the Depth of
 ‘ the Water, and Steepness of the Banks, ours
 ‘ could not get over, but retreated about half a
 ‘ Mile to invite the Enemy over to a Champain
 ‘ Ground, but they declined it.

‘ Immediately upon this there came an addi-
 ‘ tional Strength to the Enemy. For young *Pres-*
 ‘ *ton* with those which marched out of *Waterford*
 ‘ with him, and others whom he had raised since,
 ‘ together with fresh Forces out of *Connaught*, all
 ‘ conjoined with the Enemy; so that they were, in
 ‘ all, upwards of 4000 Foot and 500 Horse. They
 ‘ marched, with their whole Body, over the *For-*
 ‘ *bawne* River, and came within two Miles of *Berr*,
 ‘ a Garrison of ours, wherein two great battering
 ‘ Guns were lodged.

‘ Col. *Axtell*, not thinking it fit to engage so
 ‘ great a Body with so small a Party, retreated in-
 ‘ to *Ossory*, both to procure a Conjunction with
 ‘ more Forces, and a Supply of Provisions. In
 ‘ the

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

the Interim the Enemy summoned *Berr*, and took
in three of our Castles near thereto, viz. *Carrey*
Castle, *Streamestown* Castle, and *Clegan*. But
Col. *Axtell*, being conjoined at *Roscrea* with an
additional Strength out of the Counties of *Tipe-*
rary and *Wexford*, (who for that Purpose had
Notice to rendezvous at *Roscrea* the 21st of Oc-
tober) in all consisting of 1300 Foot and 1000
Horse and Dragoons, advanced towards *Berr*;
whereupon the Enemy raised their Camp, and
retreated to *Meleake* Island, bordering upon the
Shannon, into which there is one Pass, with Bogs
on each Side, and that also fortified in three se-
veral Places, one behind another, as Reserves to
each other, which were all to be got before any
Entry could be obtained into the Island.

Upon the 25th of *October*, half an Hour be-
fore Night, our Forces made an Attempt upon
the Enemy; and, after a small Dispute, beat them
off from the first and second Guard of the Pass;
but at the third the Dispute was so hot, that they
came to Butt-end of Musket; and God being
pleased to give our Forces Entrance into the
Island, the whole Body of the Enemy was totally
routed. They lost all their Arms; we also took
200 of their Horse, all their Waggon, Oxen,
Tents, Provisions, and whatever else they had
in their Camp, among which were *Clanrickard's*
Waggon and Tent; he himself the Day before
having gone over the *Shannon* to give Order to
the rest of his Forces to march towards *Limerick*,
being confident that the Army which he had left
in *King's County*, together with those whom he
expected to have gathered to their Assistance,
would have been able to carry all before them in
these Parts.

The Number of Men the Enemy lost is not
certainly known, for besides those which were
kill'd, Multitudes were drown'd. Five hundred
of them were forced into the *Shannon* by one Party
of our Horse, and were all drowned in one Com-
pany together. The *Irish* report that there were
not

Inter-regnum.
1650.

November.

‘ not above 300 of the Enemy which escaped, and
 ‘ most of those were such as swam over the *Shan-*
 ‘ *non*; which agrees with the Relation of a Trum-
 ‘ peter who was sent next Day, by their Major-
 ‘ General *Taaffe*, to inquire after Prisoners, who
 ‘ confessed that all but 300 were lost. We lost
 ‘ only Capt. *Goff* with eight common Soldiers, and
 ‘ 20 wounded.

‘ The next Day the Enemy quitted all the be-
 ‘ fore-mentioned Garrisons taken from us, fired
 ‘ them, and fled away to *Connaught*. This being
 ‘ done, Col. *Axtell*, on the 1st Instant, with Part
 ‘ of the Forces, return’d to this Place, (these Parts
 ‘ being much infested in his Absence with a Party
 ‘ of Horse and Foot, consisting of about 500, under
 ‘ the Command of *Dungan*, *Pierce*, *Rea*, and *Ca-*
 ‘ *vannab*) and the same Day, at Midnight, with a
 ‘ Party of Horse and Foot, drew out toward *Tho-*
 ‘ *mas-Town*, where he heard the Enemy’s last-
 ‘ mentioned Forces were gathered together, about
 ‘ seven Miles from this Place. The other Part of
 ‘ our Forces marched toward my Lord Deputy,
 ‘ who had besieged the Castle of *Nenagh* in *Lower*
 ‘ *Ormond*, about four Miles from the *Shannon*,
 ‘ having drawn off the Forces from before *Lime-*
 ‘ *rick*; the Unseasonableness of the Weather not
 ‘ admitting our Army to lie in the Fields so long
 ‘ as the gaining of a Place of such Strength will
 ‘ require.

‘ At this Instant News is come that *Nenagh*
 ‘ Castle is surrender’d, and that my Lord Deputy
 ‘ will take up his Winter Quarters here in a Day
 ‘ or two. I have nothing else to trouble your
 ‘ Lordship withall, but humbly crave Leave to
 ‘ continue,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most humble Servant,

WILLIAM BASILL.

This Intelligence was so highly acceptable to
 the House, that they not only ordered it to be print-
 ed, but also resolved that public Thanks be given
 to

to Almighty God, on the Lord's Day next ensuing, in all Churches and Chapels in and about *London*, for his great Mercy in vouchsafing so signal and seasonable a Victory to the Parliament's Army against the bloody Rebels in *Ireland*.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

December,

The next Day the House resolved, That the Council of State be required to remove out of all Garrisons, Cities, and Market Towns, and to such Distances from thence as they shall see fit, all such Ministers who refuse to subscribe the Engagement to be true to a Commonwealth Government.—We have before taken Notice of a Complaint being made of several Ministers refusing to observe the Day appointed for a public Thanksgiving for *Cromwell's* late Victory at *Dunbar*; and this Resolution was the Consequence of it.

Order against
Ministers who
refused the En-
gagement.

The rest of this Month was taken up chiefly about the Assessment-Act, before-mentioned, of 120,000 *l. per Menssem*, and naming Commissioners for it, &c. which being all perfected, the Act was passed on the 26th, and ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

This Month also produced an Act *For ascertaining what Fees shall be paid by Lords of Manors on passing their Accounts in the Exchequer; also when, and by whom, Fines, Amerciaments, &c. may be moderated, and when certified.* Another *For regulating Abuses in Norwich Stuffs.* And also an Act, *Declaring all Ships and Merchandize, belonging to the King of Portugal or any of his Subjects, to be lawful Prize.*—The passing of this Act was occasion'd by that Monarch's having given Shelter to Prince *Rupert* in his Ports, after his Highness's taking some *English* Ships.

December. The House proceeded, according to Order, every *Wednesday*, on the Bill for future Parliaments and regulating Elections; which generally took up the whole Day, and yet concluded upon nothing. The Reason of which is not hard to guess,

Dq-

444 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

December.

Dec. 6. About this Time there had been an Insurrection in *Norwich* and that County, in which many People were taken Prisoners. They were ordered at first to be tried by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, but afterwards the House did not think fit to trust them to a Jury, but consign'd them over to the Mercy of a High Court of Justice; and, to add more Commissioners to this Court, which still subsisted, a Bill was brought in, read twice the same Day, and, upon the Question, passed into an Act without either an Engrossment or a third Reading.

Dec. 10. This Day a Letter, from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, to the Speaker, was communicated to the House *in hæc Verba* :

S I R,

Edinburgh, Dec. 4, 1650.

General *Cromwell's* Relation of the State of Affairs in Scotland.

I Have now sent you the Result of some Treaties amongst the Enemy, which came to my Hands this Day. Major-General *Lambert*, with Commissary-General *Whalley*, having marched, a few Days ago, towards *Glasgow*, the Enemy attempted his Quarters in *Hamilton*, and were enter'd the Town; but, through the Blessing of God, and by a very gracious Hand of Providence, without the Loss of six Men as I hear, he beat them out, kill'd about an Hundred, and took also about the same Number; amongst which are some Prisoners of Quality, and near 400 Horse, as I am inform'd; the Major-General being in the Chace of them, to whom I have also since sent the Addition of a fresh Party. Colonel *Carr*, as my Messenger this Night tells me, is taken, also his Lieutenant-Colonel, with his Captain-Lieutenant, and the whole Party is shatter'd. But, give me Leave to say it, if God had not brought them upon us, we might have march'd 3000 Horse to Death, and not have lighted on ten of them: And truly it was a strange Providence that brought them on, for I, marching from *Edinburgh* on the North Side of *Clyde*, appointed the Major-

Inter-regnum.

1650.

December.

Major-General to march through *Peebles* to *Hamilton* on the South-Side of *Clyde*. I came thither by the Time expected, tarried the Remainder of the Day, and untill near Seven the next Morning, apprehending the Major-General would not come by reason of the Waters. But I being retreated the Enemy took Encouragement, march'd all that Night, and came upon the Major-General's Quarters about two Hours before Day, where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard.

The Major-General (as he sent me Word) was still going on in the Prosecution of them, together with the Commissary-General; and saith, that, except 150 Horse in one Body, he hears they are fled by 16 and 18 in a Company, all the Country over.

Robin Montgomery was come out of *Stirling* with four or five Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, but was put to a Stand when he heard the Issue of this Affair. *Strachan* and some other Officers had quitted, some three Weeks or a Month before, this Business; so that *Carr* commanded the whole Party in chief.

It is given out the Malignants will be, almost all, receiv'd, and rise unanimously and expeditiously. I can assure you, those that serve you here find more Satisfaction in having to deal with Men of that Stamp than with others; and it is our Comfort, that the Lord hath hitherto made it the Matter of our Prayers, and of our Endeavours, (if it might have been the Will of God) to have had a Christian Understanding between those that fear God in this Land and ourselves; and yet we hope it hath not been carried on with a willing Failure of our Duty to those that trust us; and I am persuaded that the Lord hath look'd favourably upon our Sincerity herein, and will still do so, and upon you also, whilst you make the Interest of his People yours.

Those religious People of *Scotland*, that fall in this Cause, we cannot but pity and mourn for them; and we pray that all good Men may do so

Inter-regnum.
1650.

December.

so too, Indeed there is, at this Time, very great Distractions and mighty Workings of God upon the Hearts of divers, both Ministers and People, much of it tending to the Justification of your Cause: And although some are as bad and as bitter as ever, making it their Business to shuffle hypocritically with their Consciences and the Covenant, to make it lawful to join with Malig-nants, which now they do, as well they might long before, having taken in the Head of them, yet truly, others are startled at it; and some have been constrain'd, by the Work of God upon their Consciences, to make sad and solemn Accusations of themselves, and Lamentations in the Face of their supreme Authority, charging themselves as guilty of the Blood shed in this War, by having a Hand in the Treaty at *Breda*, and by bringing in the King amongst them. This lately did a Lord of the Session, and withdrew; and lately Mr. *James Levingston*, a Man highly esteemed for Piety and Learning, who was a Commis-sioner for the Kirk at the said Treaty, charg'd himself with the Guilt of the Blood of this War, before their Assembly, withdrew from them, and and is retired to his own House.

It will be very necessary, to encourage Victu-allers to come to us, that you take off Customs and Excise from all Things brought hither for the Use of the Army.

I beg your Prayers, and rest

Your humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

The foregoing Letter was referred to the Council of State, to consider of the Particulars contain-ed therein, and to determine what might best con-duce to the Service of the Army in *Scotland*.

The House had ordered, some Time ago, that the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, for the Trial of the late King, should be laid before them: Accordingly this Day, *Dec. 12*, Mr. *Say*

re-

reported the Records thereof, which were read, at large, by the Clerk, viz. The Act for Trial of the King; the Precept for the Trial; the Charge against the King, exhibited, received, and read January 20, 1648, and the Sentence against him on the 27th of that Month. After which it was resolved,

Inter-regnum,
1650.
December.

1. ' That the Parliament doth declare, That The Proceedings the Persons intrusted in this great Service, of the at the Trial of Trial of the late King, have discharged the Trust the late King, or- in them reposed, with great Courage and Fidelity: tered to be en- And that the Parliament is well satisfied in this tered on Record. Account of the Particulars, and Proceedings there- upon, and do approve thereof; and order that the same be recorded, to remain among the Records of Parliament, for the transmitting the Memory thereof to Posterity.

2. ' That all the said Proceedings be engross'd, and recorded among the Parliament-Rolls.

3. ' That the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal of *England* do issue forth a *Certiorari* to the Clerk of Parliament, to transmit the said Proceedings into the Chancery, to be there kept of Record; and that the same be transcribed, and sent by *Mittimus* from thence into the Courts of the Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and public Exchequer; and also to the *Custos Rotulorum* in the respective Counties of this Commonwealth, to be recorded in each of them.'

Thus stands the Entry of this extraordinary Affair in the *Journals*:—But why this bloody Business should be now again brought upon the Carpet, at near two Years Distance, is a Secret; unless it was by way of Defiance to the *Scots*; and to let their King know, that if he miscarried in his Enterprize now on Foot, he should be sure to share the like Fate with his Father.

To shew likewise that the new Republic of *England* was recognized, at this Time, by foreign Princes,

Dec. 24. The Speaker acquainted the House that the Secretary to an Ambassador lately come from Spain

Inter-regnum.
1650.

December.

from *Spain*, had attended him, and deliver'd to him Copies of his Letters credential, in *Latin*, and a Translation thereof in *English*; which being read, it was resolv'd by the Parliament, That the Lord Ambassador of the King of *Spain* should have Audience in the House; and that Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Master of the Ceremonies, do attend him thither on the 26th. Accordingly,

On the Day appointed the *Spanish* Ambassador, Don *Alonso de Cardenas*^a, was admitted to an Audience, with the following Ceremonies:

The *Spanish*
Ambassador ad-
mitted to an Au-
dience of the
Parliament.

The House being informed by their Serjeant, That the Lord Ambassador from the King of *Spain*, attended to present himself to the Parliament, the Serjeant with his Mace, went to conduct his Excellency into the House.

So soon as the Lord Ambassador was entered, he uncovered himself: And Mr. Speaker and all the Members stood up bare. When his Excellency was come as far as the Bar, the Master of the Ceremonies and the Serjeant attended him, the one on the Right Hand and the other on the Left, untill he came to the Chair appointed for that Purpose, which was placed on the North Side of the House, upon a *Turkey* Carpet, with a Cushion in it, and a Foot-Stool before it.

After a few Words address'd to Mr. Speaker, the Ambassador presented his Letters Credential; which being delivered, by the Master of the Ceremonies, to Mr. Speaker, his Excellency declared the Substance of his Embassy; which was to express the King of *Spain*'s great Desire of establishing a Peace and good Correspondency with the Commonwealth of *England*: He likewise delivered a Copy in *English*, of what he had before expressed by Word of Mouth, and two other Papers mentioned in his Speech.

Mr.

^a Lord *Clarendon* gives a very minute and particular Account of the Occasion of the King of *Spain*'s sending this Ambassador into *England*, and of the fruitless Negotiation of Lord *Cottington* and himself on Behalf of King *Charles II.* after above a Year's Residence in that Kingdom.

Mr. Speaker having inform'd the Ambassador, by the Master of the Ceremonies, that he would acquaint the Parliament with the Purport of his Ambassy, his Excellency, attended in the same Manner as before, withdrew. Then the Letters Credential, in *Latin*, under the Hand and Seal of the King of *Spain*, were read; the Supercription whereof was, *Parlamento Reipublicæ Angliæ*, and subscrib'd *Philippus*.

Inter-regnum,
1650.

December,

The next Day the Speaker inform'd the House, That he had receiv'd a Letter from *Joannes de Guimaraes*, a public Minister from the King of *Portugal*, directed thus, *Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Oratori Parliamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ*; also Copies of his Letters Credential, in *Latin*, *Portuguese*, and *English*, inclosed in another Paper inscrib'd, *Parlamento Reipublicæ Angliæ*. All these being read, the House appointed a Committee to consider of the Manner of giving Audience to the *Portuguese* Minister, and also all Ambassadors, Agents, and other public Ministers, and to report their Opinion thereupon to the House.

Victory still waited on *Cromwell* in his Wars in *Scotland*, Success attending him every Step. By a Letter received from him, and read in the House the 31st of this Month, he inform'd the Parliament of the Surrender of *Edinburgh* Castle, with the Articles thereof inclosed, and several Papers which pass'd between *Walter Dundas*, Esq; the Governor, and himself, relating to that Surrender.— But the General's own Letter, address'd to the Speaker, is sufficient for our Purpose.

SIR, *Edinburgh, Dec. 24, 1650.*

IT having pleased God to cause the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be surrendered into our Hands, this Day about Eleven o'Clock, I thought fit to give you such Account thereof as I could, and the Shortness of Time would permit. I sent a Summons to the Castle upon the 12th Instant,

Gen. Cromwell's
Account of the
Surrender of E-
dinburgh Castle;

Inter-regnum.

1650.

December.

‘ which occasioned several Exchanges of Returns
 ‘ and Replies; which, for their Unusualness I also
 ‘ thought fit humbly to present to you^r. Indeed
 ‘ the Mercy is very great and seasonable. I think
 ‘ I need say little of the Strength of the Place,
 ‘ which if it had not come as it did, would have
 ‘ cost very much Blood to have attained, if at all
 ‘ to be attained; and did tye up your Army to that
 ‘ Inconvenience, that little or nothing could have
 ‘ been attempted whilst this was in Design, or little
 ‘ Fruit had of any Thing brought into your Power
 ‘ by your Army hitherto, without it. I must needs
 ‘ say, not any Skill or Wisdom of ours, but the
 ‘ good Hand of God hath given you this Place.
 ‘ I believe all *Scotland* hath not in it so much Brass
 ‘ Ordnance as this Place. I send you here inclosed
 ‘ a List thereof, and of the Arms and Ammunition,
 ‘ so well as they could be taken on a sudden. Not
 ‘ having more at present to trouble you with, I
 ‘ take Leave, and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

A LIST of the ORDNANCE, &c. in the Castle.

‘ Brass Pieces; five *French* Cannons, or Cannons
 ‘ of seven; nine *Dutch* half Cannon, or Twenty-
 ‘ four-pounders; two Culverins, two Demi Culve-
 ‘ rins, two Minions, three Three-pounders, two
 ‘ Falcons, twenty-eight Drakes, call’d Monkey’s.
 ‘ Iron

^r The main Purport of the Papers on the Governor’s Part was,
 That being intrusted by the States of *Scotland*, and sworn not to de-
 liver up the Castle to any Person without their Warrant, he there-
 fore desired ten Days Time to obtain their Consent: To this *Crom-*
well’s Answers were, That he would not give the Governor Lib-
 erty to consult with the Committee of Estates, because he had heard
 that many of the honest Party had left them, being unsatisfied with
 their present Proceedings; and that the rest were pursuing an Inter-
 est different from what they had formerly pretended to, by making
 Way for the Reception of profess’d Malignants both in their Par-
 liament and Army. — All these Messages, Answers, &c. are print-
 ed at large by Dr. Grey in his Appendix to the 4th Volume of a
 Work, intituled *An impartial Examination of Mr. Neal’s History*
of the Puritans, p. 54, et seq.

‘Iron Guns; the great Murderer, call’d *Muckle Meg*; four Cannon; ten Drakes, call’d Monkeys; two Petards. About seven or eight thousand Arms, between three and fourscore Barrels of Powder, and great Store of Cannon Shot.’

Inter-regnum.
1650.
January.

The foregoing Letters and Papers from the General being read, the House resolved (as if it was to shew the present King of *Scotland*, and the Royal Party there and elsewhere, in what great Contempt they held them) that the 30th Day of *January* ensuing be set a-part as a Day of public Thanksgiving, to be observed through the whole Nation, for the great Mercies of God vouchsafed to the Commonwealth of *England*, both by Sea and Land, and carrying on the Affairs thereof with so great Success; and, in particular, in the Rendition of the Castle of *Edinburgh*; the Defeat of the Scots Forces in the West of *Scotland*, by the Parliament’s Forces under the Command of Major-General *Lambert*; as also in the Discovery of the late horrid Design, here at home, to raise a new War.

No Acts pass’d this Month worth our Notice, except that already mentioned, touching the High Court of Justice.

January. We have lately taken Notice of a Committee’s being appointed to consider of the Reception of Ambassadors, Agents, and other public Ministers from foreign Princes: The Proceedings of this Month begin with a Report made from that Committee, consisting of the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House:

1. ‘That Ambassadors, Ordinary and Extraordinary, sent from Commonwealths, Kings, Princes, and States, be admitted to public Audience in Parliament, so often as the Parliament shall think fit.

2. ‘That all other public Ministers, under the Quality of Ambassadors, have Audience by a Committee of Parliament, sent out of the Parliament

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January.

for that Purpose; who are to return and tender their Report before the House rise.

3. 'That the Day and Hour be appointed by Parliament, at which Time the Master of the Ceremonies is to conduct such public Minister to the Place lately called the Inner Court of Wards; and then immediately to certify the Parliament thereof.

4. 'That the late House of Lords be the Place for the Committees of Parliament to give Audience in, and to be fitted up for that Purpose.

5. 'That it be referred to the Council of State to take especial Care to provide convenient Hangings for this House, and for the Inner Court of Wards; and that the Suit containing the Story of 1588, be reserved for the Service of the State, and hung up in the late House of Lords; and that all such other Accommodations be made, as are necessary for the Uses above voted.

6. 'That Audience be given to the Public Minister from *Portugal*, the ensuing *Tuesday*, at Ten in the Morning, by a Committee of Parliament, according to the foregoing general Rules for giving Audience; and that Sir *Oliver Fleming* give him Notice thereof.'

Matters of Moment enough for these Inquiries having of late been, and still continuing, very scarce in the *Journals*, we must be content to pick up such as seem most likely to illustrate the History of these Times. Delinquents Estates were still an inexhaustible Fund to these new Lords and Masters; and as they had allowed large Premiums to those Persons who could inform of any concealed Lands or Monies not given in by the unhappy Sufferers, new Discoveries were frequently making by those Wretches who had hunted about to make Gain of the others Misfortunes.

To carry up their Inquiries as high as they could, an Act for the Sale of Delinquents Estates being this Day, *Jan. 9*, reported to the House, with some Amendments to it; one of which was, That the

the

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January.

And the Sale of
Delinquents E-
states.

the Forfeitures of those Estates named in the Act should be from the Time of their respective Treasons; on the Question it was carried in the Negative. Then another Question being put, That the Time of their Forfeiture be from the 4th of January, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, the House divided into Yeas, 23; Noes, 20; so that the greatest Latitude was given to these Distresses that was possible to be done. And, by the Numbers on this Division, may be seen into how few Hands this exorbitant Power was got of laying such heavy Burthens on their Fellow-Subjects; though, some Days after, the Time of Forfeiture was altered, by another Vote, to be from the 20th of May, 1642. And that whatsoever Person should be found guilty of committing any Treason against this Commonwealth, since the 1st of February, 1648, or at any Time henceforth, should not be admitted to any Composition at all.

Jan. 10. We have lately given the Parliament's Manner of receiving the *Spanish* Ambassador, we shall now see how the *Portuguese* Agent was admitted; which was by a Committee of eleven Members appointed for that Purpose. It seems the Parliament had been disgusted at the King of *Portugal*, for allowing great Liberties to Prince *Rupert* and the Fleet under him, to man and victual in all his Ports: And Admiral *Blake* had Orders to sink and take the *Portuguese* Ships wherever he met them; by which Means the *Brazil* Fleet fell into his Hands. Hereupon all the *English* Merchants were seized in *Portugal*: But on the News of the great Victory gained by the Parliament in *Scotland*, the *Portuguese* King thought proper to release the Merchants, and send an Agent to *England*, the Manner of whose Audience was thus reported to the House by the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*:

'The Committee appointed for that Purpose met, on the 10th of this Month, in the late House of Lords; and the Agent from *Portugal*, attended

454 *The Parliamentary History*

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January.

The Portuguese
Agent admitted
to an Audience.

thither by the Master of the Ceremonies, the Committee being set, came in uncovered; whom the Committee received with the like Compliment; and, after mutual Salutations perform'd, he sat down in a Chair appointed for that Purpose, and, covering his Head, the Committee did the like: Then the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, their Chairman, declared to the Agent, that they were authorized by the Parliament to give him Audience, and the Order for that Purpose was read. Notice being also given him by the Master of the Ceremonies, to whom he should address himself, the Agent presented his Letters Credential from the King of *Portugal*; and, by Word of Mouth, declared to the Committee, in the *Portuguese* Language, the Grounds and Ends for which he was sent; which he likewise presented to them, in Writing, both in *Latin* and *English*: And being, with the like Attendance, withdrawn, it was ordered that the Council of State do prepare all Papers, Letters, and Matters concerning the Transactions between the Parliament of *England* and the King of *Portugal*, from first to last, to be reported to the House. — This Minister had sent a Letter to the Speaker, on the 7th, desiring to be admitted as an *Ambassador*, but the House resolved to admit him only as an *Agent*. By which Distinction they express'd their Resentment against the Crown of *Portugal*, and paid a Compliment to that of *Spain*.

The Parliament
appoint Messrs.
St. John and
Strickland to be
their Ambassa-
dors to the States
General.

The same Ceremony of Introduction was used when these public Ministers receiv'd their Answers. But neither the Reason of their Mission, nor the Answers given to them by the House, are enter'd in the *Journals*. As the Parliament received these Testimonies of Recognition from foreign States, so they thought proper to send out Ministers of their own; and *Oliver St. John*, Esq; formerly Solicitor-General to the late King, but now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, with *Walter Strickland*, Esq; their late Agent in *Holland*, were constituted Ambassadors Extraordinary to the United Provinces. The Council of State were ordered to provide

provide their Credentials, Instructions, &c. and all other Things necessary for that Service, with due Respect to the Honour of this Commonwealth.

However, a few Days after, a Petition was presented by Mr. *St. John*, praying to be excused from this Embassy. The *Journals* make no Mention what were the Allegations of this Petition, but we are inform'd by one of the *Diaries* of these Times, that the Chief Justice urg'd his present Indisposition, and the Opinion of his Physicians that the Air of *Holland* would be prejudicial to his Health; tho' it seems as if the House look'd upon this meerly as a Pretence; for, upon a Division, it was resolved, by a Majority of 42 against 29, that he should go: And it is highly probable the true Reason was, that he dreaded the Fate of *Dorislus*, the Parliament's first Agent to the States.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January.

Jan. 14. This Day the following Extracts of Letters from *Cromwell* and *Lambert* to the Council of State, dated from *Edinburgh* the 4th and 8th of this Month, intimating a Design of the *Scots* to attempt an Invasion of *England*, were read in the House:

ON the 1st of *January* *Charles Stuart* was crown'd King of *Scotland* at *Scoone*. He had great Ceremonies of Honour from the Guns, but less than others from the Kirk and State. He is tied to a stricter Covenant than any of his Predecessors, and is now gone to raise his Standard at *Aberdeen*. All the Train'd Bands are summoned to be in Readiness, and Recruits are raising to complete him, if possible, 20,000 Horse and Foot. The *Scots* now with him lay down Religion, and make it not a Religious War, but a National Quarrel. Malignants are the only Men now swaying, and a mere Presbyterian cannot be trusted, no not *Argyle* himself. The new King

Letters intimating a Design of the *Scots* to enter *England*, under the Command of King *Charles II.*

Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres, published by Authority every Thursday, in French, by *William Du-Gard*, Printer to the Council of State, for the Information of Foreigners.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January,

‘ King is to be in the Head of the Army Generalissimo; and under him Duke *Hamilton*, Lieutenant-General of the *Scots* whole Army; *David Lesley*, Major-General; and *Middleton*, Lieutenant-General of the *Scots* Horse. *Massey* is to have Commission to be Major-General of the *English*. They have chosen all their new Colonels, being the most popular and beloved Men, with whom we hear the People rise very willingly; so that I think we may certainly conclude they will have a numerous Army before long. It is confidently reported they have Encouragement, and do intend to send a Party for *England*; which though we shall endeavour to prevent, yet it will be our Duty not to be too secure; at least in preventing Insurrections and Risings in our own Bowels, which I conceive is most to be feared.

‘ We have had great Thoughts how to prevent these new Levies, and, if possible, to have contrived a Way for our getting over the Water; but Providence denying that all this Time, makes us wait the Lord’s Leisure, who will bring it about at a better Opportunity.’

Who is crown’d
King of Scotland,
at Scoone.

The Form and Order of the King’s Coronation at *Scoone*, mentioned in the foregoing Letters, was published about this Time at *Aberdeen*; to which was annex’d a Copy of his Majesty’s Declaration to all his Subjects, from *Dumfermling*^k, and a Sermon upon the Occasion, by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Minister of *Edinburgh*, and Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly; wherein the Preacher, in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, and as his Servant, had the Assurance to tell the King to his Face, ‘ That if he did not continue stedfast to the Ends of the Covenant (which he had then again sworn in the most solemn Manner to observe) the Controversy was not ended between God and his Family;’ with many other Threats, which the

^k Already given in this Volume, p. 362, et seq.

the King was forced to hear at this Time with Patience. We have before mentioned some Instances of the insolent and tyrannical Behaviour of the *Scots* Clergy to their King: And how much he then resented their Ecclesiastical Vassalage is evident from his making his Escape from *St. Johnston* into the Highlands, a few Months before, even when they were concerting Measures for his Coronation. Lord *Clarendon*¹ gives us a very particular Account of this Elopement, which was call'd the *Start*, and of the King's being fetch'd back by Major-General *Montgomery*.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

January.

A modern Historian^m attributes the dissolute Life of King *Charles II.* and his Indifference in Matters of Religion, to his first setting off with so scandalous an Instance of Hypocrisy as that of subscribing the Covenant, for which no Excuse was ever attempted but the Necessity of his Affairs.

Thus much for *Scotland*, return we now to *Westminster*.

The Acts passed this Month of a public Nature were these, *For encouraging the Importation of Bullion.* By this Act all the Merchants, Strangers as well as Natives, who imported Bullion or foreign Coin, were allowed to export two Thirds of the Quantity imported, on Payment of One per Cent. Custom, and carrying the other Third to the Mint in the *Tower* to be coined. Convoys were also to be granted for guarding the said two Thirds to any Part of *Flanders* or *Holland*.

An Act against forcible and pretended Marriages, whereby it was enacted, 'That if any Woman hath been, or shall be, by Force, seized on, or carried away against her Will, or have Words wrested from her, either in this Nation, or beyond the Seas, whereupon a Marriage with any Person is, or shall be, pretended; upon Complaint made to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal on her Behalf, they

¹ History, Vol. VI. p. 394.

^m Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 38, 130.

Inter-regnum.
1650.

February.

they were authorized and required to grant Commissions to such discreet Persons as they should think fit, who were to issue Summons to convene such Persons before them; and, whether the Defendants appear'd or not, to proceed to admit the Libels and Proofs, upon Oath, on Behalf of the said Woman, and finally to determine the Matter. But this Act was not to extend to the diminishing or altering the Statute of 3. Hen. VII. intitled, *The Penalty of carrying a Woman away against her Will, that hath Lands or Goods*; or the Statute of 39. Elizabeth, intitled, *He that taketh away a Woman against her Will that hath Lands or Goods, or is Heir apparent to her Ancestors, shall lose the Benefit of his Clergy*; or to any other Act then in being for the Punishment of such Offenders.

AN ACT For taking away all Fees call'd Damage Cleere, or Damna Clericorum: Also an Act declaring it to be High Treason to counterfeit the Parliament's Seal engraved with a Cross and a Harp, and bearing this Inscription, *The Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*. This Seal was ordered to be kept by the Clerk among the Records, sealed up by the Speaker, and to be open'd only when the House should order it.

A new Council
of State elected.

February. The Proceedings of this Month begin with the annual Election of a new Council of State. Upon this Occasion the House was much fuller than ordinary, there being 121 Members present. This Affair took up several Days, and ended in a Resolution, that the Number of that Council for the Year ensuing be 41, to be elected by Ballot; of which only 21 to be chosen out of the present Members thereof, and 20 new ones.

The *Journals* are most minutely exact in setting down the Manner of this Ballot: But 'tis sufficient for our Purpose to give the Result, which was, that of the old Members the following were re-elected, viz. the Lord Chief Justice Rolle, the Lord Chief Justice St. John, Mr. Serjeant Bradshaw, the Lord General Cromwell, Major-General Skippon,

Inter-regnum.
1650.

February,

Skippon, Sir William Masham, Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, Dennis Bond, Esq; Sir William Armyn, Col. Wauton, Sir Henry Mildmay, Col. Purefoy, Lord Commissioner Lisle, Thomas Scot, Esq; John Gurdon, Esq; Lord Grey, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and Thomas Chaloner, Esq; The new Members were, Richard Salway, Esq; Alderman Allein, of London, Robert Goodwyn, Esq; William Lemman, Esq; Major-General Harrison, Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt. Serjeant at Law, John Carew, Esq; Sir John Bourchier, Sir John Trevor, Knt. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Henry Darley, Esq; Thomas Lister, Esq; William Cawley, Esq; Walter Strickland, Esq; Nicholas Love, Esq; William Say, Esq; John Fielder, Esq; George Thompson, Esq; and Sir William Brereton, Bart. Gualter Frost, Esq; was elected Secretary, and to take an Oath not to reveal any of the Proceedings of the Council without their Order.

After the settling this great Work of electing a Council of State for the Year ensuing, nothing of a public Nature occurs this Month, except passing of an Act for borrowing 250,000 l. at Eight per Cent. for carrying on the public Service of the State. This Money was to be raised upon Security of such Part of the Fee Farm Rents, as should remain unsold after the 6th of February Instant, which were not to be disposed of under ten Years Purchase.—An Act for vesting the Power of Lord Admiral and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in the Council of State, and for empowering that Council, or the Admirals for the Time being, to impress Seamen for one Year.—Another for continuing Col. Popham, Col. Dean, and Col. Blake, Generals, as they were then call'd, at Sea for the Year ensuing. On the 13th of this Month Blake had receiv'd the Parliament's Thanks, and had a Reward of 1000 l. given him by Order of the House, for the great Service he had then lately done, by destroying Prince Rupert's Fleet in the Bay of Malaga. And,

Acts passed in
February.

460 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.
1650.

March.

in order to crave a Blessing on their Forces this Year, both by Sea and Land,

March 4. The House appointed a Day for seeking of God, by solemn Fasting and Humiliation, to be observed thro' the whole Nation. The Parliament, the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and all Places within ten Miles thereof, kept this Fast on the 13th Instant, and the rest of the Nation on the second of *April*; but what the Preachers before the House had done to displease them we know not, for, on a Motion the next Day, That Thanks be given to the Ministers that preached Yesterday before the Parliament, it passed in the Negative.

Precautions taken by the Parliament, upon the rumour'd Invasion of the *Scots*.

We have before taken Notice of an Alarm the Parliament had received from *Scotland*; and,

March 18. Mr. *Scot* reported, from the Council of State, a Letter from Major-General *Lambert*, discovering a Design against the Commonwealth, which appeared by Papers, Letters, and Commissions found upon an Agent from the King of *Scotland*. In order to provide against this threatened Danger,

March 19. An Act for renewing the Assessment of 120,000 *l.* a-month, from the 25th of *April* till the 29th of *September* next, was ordered in with all convenient Speed, and soon after pass'd the House.

Also an Act for continuing another, call'd *An Act for removing all Papists, and all Officers and Soldiers of Fortune, and divers other Delinquents, from London and Westminster, and confining them within five Miles of their Dwellings; and for Encouragement of such as shall discover Priests and Jesuits, and their Abettors*, was read a first and second Time; and, being put to the Question, passed, without either committing or engrossing of it.

The Council of State was likewise ordered by the House to send Major-General *Harrison* into any Part of this Nation; as they should see Occasion, for the greatest Advantage to the public Cause, and the Safety of the Commonwealth. Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* was appointed to take Care of

of London and the Counties adjacent, in the other's Room; and a Proclamation was issued forth, by Order of the House, commanding all Officers of the Army to attend their Charge, and all Soldiers to repair to their Colours, on Pain of Death.

Inter-regnum.
1650.
March.

Soon after one Mr. *Coke*^a was apprehended, and charged before the Council of State with High Treason, both upon Information received out of Scotland concerning him, and also, on Oath, at the Council. Being committed on this Evidence, after the usual Manner, to the Custody of the Serjeant's Man, he made his Escape from him: But the Council conceiving him to be a very dangerous Person, and one who was principally trusted and employed by the Enemies of the Commonwealth, represented him as such to the House; and, at their Desire, on the 20th of this Month, passed an Act, declaring *Thomas Coke*, Esq; a Traitor, unless he should come in, and render himself to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, in order to his Trial, within four Days; or 500 *l.* Reward to any Person who should bring him in. He was soon after retaken, and committed to the Tower.

The *Journals* hitherto afford us no Particulars of this Plot; but Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 'That the Council had Intelligence of a dangerous Project in the North; and that those Counties, especially *Lancashire*, were for joining with the *Scots* and Malignants, and raising a new War; and that General *Harrison* was sent, with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, for the Security of those Parts.'

This Affair must necessarily give great Uneasiness to the new Commonwealth, since an Insurrection in the more Northern Counties might be attended with very bad Consequences, by making a
Di-

^a A Son of Sir *John Coke*, Secretary of State to King *Charles I.* In Sir *Edward Nicholas's* Letters from the *Hague*, to the Marquis of *Ormond* at *Caen*, (printed in Mr. *Carte's* Collection of Letters, from 1641 to 1660, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 464, 472, and Vol. II. p. 12) Notice is taken of the Discoveries made by Mr. *Coke*.—There are also several short Minutes thereof enter'd in the *Journals* of the 28th of May, 1651.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

March.

Diversion there in Favour of the *Scots*, and placing their now victorious General, as it were, between two Fires. But the whole of this grand Design, now on Foot in the King's Favour, will shortly appear at large, from original Letters sent, upon that Occasion, to the Parliament and Council of State.

As a Kind of Counterpoise to this Alarm from *Scotland*,

March 25. The following Letter ^a from Colonel *Hewson*, Governor of *Dublin*, address'd to the Speaker, was read :

Col. *Hewson's*
Account of his
great Success in
Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, Finagh, March 14, 1650.

THE mighty Hand of the great God hath been stretched out against your Enemies, and defended you and your Forces, whilst you have been prosecuting Nations Liberties, publick Good, and the Interest of his People; amongst whom he hath, he doth, he will, manifested his Presence. And as all your Forces have Abundance of Experience therein, so these in *Ireland* want not large and comfortable Testimonies thereof. The several Accounts you have received, give your Servants Cause of rejoicing in, and depending upon, the Lord for his Mercies exercised with and amongst them; and, as in other Appearances of our God this Day, and his Presence with the present Motion of your Servants here, doth abundantly proclaim his Goodness. The Counties of *Westmeath*, *Cavan*, and *Longford*, persisting in Rebellion, and the Enemy raising Forces in those Parts, and endeavouring to form a considerable Army there; for the Prevention thereof, and to reduce the said Counties, I marched from *Dublin*, and the Parts adjacent, with 1600 Foot, and 700 Horse, the 24th of *February* last: When I was about *Tecroghan*, I had Notice of the Enemy in *King's County*, with 3000 Horse and Foot, distressing one of the Garisons: I marched immediately to *Terrel's Pass* for

^a From the original Edition, printed for *R. Ibbetson*, and licens'd by the Clerk of the Parliament.

‘ for its Relief; but Commissary General *Reynolds*
 ‘ having removed that Enemy with a Party from a-
 ‘ bout *Kilkenny*, I, upon Notice thereof, marched
 ‘ towards *Mollingar*, where we found Resistance
 ‘ by a Castle called *Kilbridge*, which was present-
 ‘ ly reduced, wherein 200 Barrels of Corn were
 ‘ found, and kept for your Service.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

March,

‘ When I came to *Mollingar*, the Enemy did
 ‘ quite desert it, and also *Tutestown*, and burned
 ‘ the former; but the latter I have now garrisoned
 ‘ for you: Whilst I was at *Mollingar*, I heard
 ‘ from Commissary-General *Reynolds*, who had
 ‘ taken, by Storm, *Donore* in *Westmeath*, wherein
 ‘ were near 1000 Barrels of Corn. I presently rode
 ‘ over unto him, where we both advised to fortify
 ‘ and garrison *Ballimore*, a very considerable Place,
 ‘ which the Enemy had slighted; I sent thither
 ‘ Colonel *Fouke* with his Regiment, and the Com-
 ‘ missary-General came thither with his Foot;
 ‘ they have made up the Works, and made it te-
 ‘ nable, and secured it for you.

‘ I marched unto Sir *Theophilus Nugent*’s House,
 ‘ which was kept against you, and reduced it; and
 ‘ then to *Ballemallock*, and reduced it into a con-
 ‘ siderable Pass out of *Westmeath* into *Longford*.

‘ The Commissary-General and I agreed to
 ‘ march to *Pinagh*, where we heard were great
 ‘ Store of Forces to entertain us: I came with my
 ‘ Party last Night unto a Castle on the *Lougher*,
 ‘ and saw a considerable Enemy marching on the
 ‘ other Side of the Water towards us from the
 ‘ County of *Cavan*, and coming to the other Side
 ‘ of the Pass at the *Lougher*, where we did encamp
 ‘ twice Musket-shot one off another, but their Ca-
 ‘ stle was upon that Pass between us. That Night
 ‘ Commissary-General *Reynolds* quartered within
 ‘ three Miles of us: I raised a Battery, and planted
 ‘ the Guns that Night, and this Morning betimes
 ‘ began to play. The third Shot that we made,
 ‘ the Enemy did quit the Castle and run away un-
 ‘ to the Bog; we pursued them, took some, and
 ‘ drowned others, and some few escaped. I drew
 ‘ down

Inter-regnum.

1651.

March.

‘down the Horse and Foot presently, over the
 ‘River up to *Finagh*, where we beheld the Ene-
 ‘my that came towards us Yesterday, to march
 ‘safer back from us: We found a Pass about a
 ‘Musket-shot off the Castle, over which I sent Sir
 ‘*Theophilus Jones* with 400 Horse, and my Regi-
 ‘ment of Foot, to pursue the Enemy; and, with
 ‘the rest of the Foot, stormed *Finagh*, but could
 ‘not enter. I presently summon’d it; they de-
 ‘sired to treat; but in Time of Parley, the Com-
 ‘missary-General coming up, we did treat jointly
 ‘with them; and, as we were treating, Sir *The-*
 ‘*ophilus Jones* came back, who had overtaken
 ‘the Enemy, killed about 400 on the Place, and
 ‘brought with him the Prisoners in the inclosed
 ‘List mentioned.

‘The Soldiers in the Castle finding all Hopes fail,
 ‘yeilded it upon the Articles herewith tendred
 ‘unto you. The Taking of this Place is of great
 ‘Advantage unto you, and giveth you the Posses-
 ‘sion of *Longford* and *Cavan*; and this Day’s Suc-
 ‘cess doth, in good Measure, prevent the forming
 ‘of such great Armies as they intended.

‘Whilst you pursue the Interests God will own,
 ‘you will find his Hand against your Enemies,
 ‘his Power with your Forces, and Success in your
 ‘great Undertakings, the Hands of your faithful
 ‘Servants strengthened, and all good People com-
 ‘forted, and the Government you have establish-
 ‘ed secured; which that the Lord of Hosts may
 ‘still preserve uncorrupted, shall be the Prayers of,

Your faithful Servant,

J. HEWSON.

P. S. ‘The Lord-Deputy *Ireton* hath reduced
 ‘*Castlehaven* Town to the Parliament.

‘Sir *Charles Coote* hath reduced the County of
 ‘*Monaghan*, and set up a Garrison there; taken a
 ‘great Prey from the Enemy; intends to set up two
 ‘more Out-Garrisons elsewhere; and suddenly to
 ‘march abroad with a Field Army.’

Next

Next follow the Articles of Surrender, and a List of the Prisoners: Both which we pass over, as foreign to our Purpose; observing only, That the Speaker was ordered to write a Letter of Thanks to the Officers and Soldiers concerned in this Action.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

March.

March 28. The House received the following Intelligence from Mr. *Downing*, in *Scotland*, address'd to the Speaker.

S I R, *Edinburgh, March 22, 1650.*

WE are very much gazing after the Results of the present Parliament, that is now sitting at *St. Johnstoun*. *Hamilton*² is become a Grandee amongst them; he carries all, and his Interest is so well known, that we may easily gather what will be the Issue of all their Debates: Surely he cannot want Abettors. He brings in Men of his own Stamp and Principles, and it is easy to decide what they chiefly drive at. *Argyle* and the Chancellor have little Influence now in State or Army-Transactions. The Game is now playing by other Hands, who will labour to advance their own Interest to the utmost. The great Wheel they are moving, is the Expediting of the Northern Levies: And, to this End, many Gentlemen of the Country have been sent for, and they are endeavouring to remove all Hinderances; the Compleating of their Army being what they busily contend for.

Mr. *Downing's*
Letter touching
the Affairs of
Scotland.

When the Season will permit, we shall enter upon speedy Action. The Recovery of my Lord General does much revive us, and gives us Hopes that we shall not now remain long in our Quarters. We know that we shall be led forth in a fit Season, and therefore we wait with Patience upon the Providence of our God towards us.

P. S. The Lord-General (blessed be God) is pretty well recovered, to our great Comfort.

VOL. XIX.

G g

The

² *William Duke of Hamilton*, (formerly Earl of *Lanerk*) whose elder Brother, *James*, was beheaded the 9th of *March*, 1648, and left no Issue Male.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

April.

The weekly Farce, as it may well be called, of going into a Grand Committee every *Wednesday*, on the Bill for future Parliaments, and regulating Elections, still continued, without any one Thing more said on it, than *Mr. Speaker left the Chair. Mr. Say took the Chair. Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.* So that it seems very plain the House had no Occasion to provide for the Conduct of future Elections, when they never intended to dissolve the present Parliament; which, in all Probability, had not been done at all but by a Force superior to their own, the Particulars of which will hereafter appear.

Besides the Acts already mention'd in the Course of this Month, there was one passed for Continuance of the Customs to the 26th of *March*, 1653, and another for laying an Imposition of 2*s.* per Chaldron upon Sea Coals, and 2*s.* 6*d.* per Ton on *Scots* Coal, towards building and maintaining Ships for guarding the Seas.

April 1. This Day the House received, from their Ambassadors to the States General, a Narrative of their Arrival at the *Hague* and Reception there, with a Copy of the Speech made by them at the Time of their Audience. The Narrative set forth,

An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament's Ambassadors in Holland laid before the House.

' That they arrived at *Rotterdam* on *Friday* the 14th of last Month, about four o'Clock in the Morning, being brought in thither by the Deputy and some others of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who met them in the Way between *Helvoetsluice* and *Rotterdam*; and brought them to the *English* House there, at their own Charge entertaining them and their Retinue all the while they staid in that Town, which was till the *Monday* after, save that the States General paid for the two last Meals.

' That their Lordships, on their Arrival, gave Notice thereof to the States General, by whom they were visited on *Saturday* Morning, and received some other Civilities very extraordinary; particularly

ticularly the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam*, by Appointment of the States of *Holland*, did both visit and make them a Present, which was never done to any Ambassadors before.

Inter-regnum.
1651.
April.

‘ That on *Monday* the Master of the Ceremonies accompanied them to the *Hague*, having, by Command of his Masters, provided them those Accommodations which other public Ministers have not before had.

‘ That, about a Mile and a Half from the *Hague*; their Lordships were met by the Earl of *Floredo*, and another of the States Generals, with near 30 Coaches, and by them accompanied to the *Hague*, where their Lordships were entertained by them with very great Expressions of Affection to the Commonwealth of *England*; one from every Province, by Order of the Assembly, supping with their Lordships the first Night, and three of them every Meal after.

‘ That on *Thursday* the 20th of *March* they had their first Audience in the great Assembly, in a very honourable and public Manner; on which Occasion Mr. *St. John* delivered himself to the following Effect:

High and Mighty Lords;

‘ THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, well knowing, by the antient and successive Treaties and Leagues of Amity between *England* and the *Netherlands*, as well before the Restitution to their Liberties as since, and by the many notable Assistances given unto them, and sometimes received from them, against the Enemies of each other, that there hath always been a firm Union and constant Inter-course of Friendship and real Affection between *England* and this State:

‘ And withal considering, that the Defence and Aid against foreign Enemies, and the free Inter-course of Trade and Traffick (the common Interests of State) that first combined them in this happy League, do still continue; with the Ac-

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ cession since of the Profession of the true Reform’d
 ‘ Religion, and of the just Liberties and Freedom
 ‘ of the People, of equal Concernment unto both,
 ‘ more than formerly :

‘ And that God, who at first appointed to all
 ‘ People the Bounds of their several Habitations,
 ‘ by Situation, Likeness of Manners, and Dispo-
 ‘ sitions, Commodities arising at Sea and Land,
 ‘ Shipping and otherwise, hath not only enabled
 ‘ them to be more useful to each other, for the
 ‘ Maintenance of those common Interests, than to
 ‘ others, but seems likewise in those Regards, to
 ‘ put a Necessity upon both to desire and effect the
 ‘ Good of both :

‘ And finding, by long Experience, that Breaches
 ‘ (sometimes occasioned through Misunderstand-
 ‘ ing) have always produced Damage unto both,
 ‘ and likewise Regret and Impatience, till Recon-
 ‘ ciliation ; as if made for meet Helps they could
 ‘ not be well alone :

‘ And further observing, that the signal Blessing
 ‘ of Almighty God hath ever accompanied the
 ‘ Actions of each undertaken for their Welfare,
 ‘ whereby great Additions of Happiness have been
 ‘ derived unto both, for which they are bound ever
 ‘ to give Thanks to God ; and were no doubt ta-
 ‘ ken into the Consideration of the high and potent
 ‘ Lords of *Holland*, in their late good and accept-
 ‘ able Endeavours for the Continuance of a friend-
 ‘ ly Correspondency between the two States :

‘ As therefore they have Cause from hence, so
 ‘ the Parliament accordingly doth desire that this
 ‘ pious and strict Confederacy and League of Ami-
 ‘ ty, derived from their Ancestors unto them, may
 ‘ from themselves be transmitted unto Posterity, if
 ‘ God so please : And such is the sincere Love and
 ‘ Good-will which the Commonwealth of *England*
 ‘ beareth unto their Neighbours of the United Pro-
 ‘ vinces, begotten and conserved upon the Grounds
 ‘ before expressed, that they are willing to enter
 ‘ into a more intimate Alliance and nearer Union
 ‘ with them than formerly hath been, whereby a
 ‘ more

‘ more real and intrinsical Interest of each in other
‘ may be contracted for their mutual Good.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

‘ This the Parliament of the Commonwealth of
‘ *England* doth, by us their Ambassadors Extra-
‘ ordinary, declare and make tender of unto you,
‘ the High and Mighty Lords the States General
‘ of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and
‘ hath given us Authority on their Part to bring to
‘ Effect.

April.

‘ And they have chosen this as the most season-
‘ able Time to acquaint your Lordships herewithal,
‘ when you are met in this great and extraordina-
‘ ry Assembly, to consult, as they suppose, Mat-
‘ ters of highest Importance to your State, and
‘ which have been occasioned by remarkable Acts
‘ of divine Providence; and likewise when the
‘ Commonwealth of *England*, through the infinite
‘ Goodness of God, is in so peaceable and settled
‘ a Condition under the present Government, and
‘ freed in so great a Measure as now it is, from
‘ Enemies abroad.

‘ And although great Alterations of Govern-
‘ ment, how good and just soever, have always
‘ been accompanied with various and sinister Con-
‘ structions, tending to the Disadvantage of the
‘ State concerned, whereof we know the *Nether-*
‘ *lands* have had Experience, as well as others;
‘ nor can it be otherwise expected, because those
‘ without are not so fully acquainted with the
‘ Grounds and Causes thereof, and by Reason of
‘ the several Interests, Relations, and Depend-
‘ cies involved therein; yet, considering the Place
‘ and Persons, where and to whom we now speak,
‘ and the Declarations of this State made at *Utrecht*
‘ the 23d of *January*, in the Year 1579, and in
‘ this Place the 26th of *July*, in the Year 1581,
‘ they thought it not needful to be particular upon
‘ this Subject.

‘ My Lords, In the several and successive Mu-
‘ tations of the Affairs and Conditions of the *Ne-*
‘ *therlands*, the Treaties and Alliances between
‘ *England* and them have always been continued,

Inter-regnum.
1651.

April.

‘ and with the greatest Expressions of Affection
 ‘ from *England*, when this State hath stood in most
 ‘ need; and, upon the present Alteration in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, so happily, by the Blessing of God, order-
 ‘ ed for the common Good, your Lordships may
 ‘ see Cause to continue and improve them to the
 ‘ nearest Conjunction; a Foundation being thereby
 ‘ laid of making them more durable and advan-
 ‘ tageous than heretofore, when they depended
 ‘ upon the Uncertainties of the Life, Alliances,
 ‘ Change of Affections, and private Interests of
 ‘ one Person.

‘ My Lords, you see the Commonwealth of
 ‘ *England* (notwithstanding the many Discourage-
 ‘ ments they have found, and just Cause given
 ‘ them of laying aside the Thought of any further
 ‘ Motion in this Kind) have begun to you, and
 ‘ in Matters of highest Concernment unto both;
 ‘ led thereunto, (such is the Mercy of God) not
 ‘ out of Necessity, but Choice. This their Good-
 ‘ will deserves all Acceptation on your Part, with
 ‘ whom it now rests, and will, they doubt not,
 ‘ produce Resolutions answerable and timely; and
 ‘ whatsoever Issue it shall please God in his Wis-
 ‘ dom to give, they shall always have the Satisfac-
 ‘ tion of having done what befitted them, and what
 ‘ the Welfare of the true Reformed Religion, and
 ‘ the other great and common Interests of both
 ‘ States obliged them to do.’

Their Resolu-
tions thereupon.

Besides the two foregoing, Copies of which were printed at this Time, several other Papers of the Ambassadors Transactions were inclosed, some address’d to the Speaker, and others to the Council of State, the Contents of which were not made public: But from the following Resolutions of the House, it appears to have been not without Reason that the Parliament had sent Ambassadors to the States General, for about this Time Affairs began to grow critical between the two Republics.

The Resolutions were, That it be referred to the Council of State, 1. ‘ To give Instructions to the
 the

the Lords Ambassadors now in *Holland*, to demand of the States General of the *United Provinces*, in the Name of the Parliament, upon what Grounds their Fleet, under the Command of *Van Trump*, is set forth, in reference to the Isle of *Scilly*, Part of the Territories of this Commonwealth: And if they shall find those Grounds tending to the Prejudice of this Commonwealth, in Honour or Interest, that then they demand Satisfaction for the same, and a Revocation of his Commission, in reference to that Island. 2. To take effectual Care, as well by giving Order to the Fleet abroad, as by making use of any other Ships under the Command, and in the Service, of the Parliament, and by any other Way they shall think fit, to prevent any Prejudice to the Interest or Dishonour of this Commonwealth, by the Fleet under the Command of *Van Trump*, in reference to the Isle of *Scilly*.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

April,

Last Month the Council of State having receiv'd Advice that the Lord-General *Cromwell* was much indisposed, had sent two Physicians into *Scotland* to attend on him*. And this Day, *April 1*, the following Letter from him to Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Lord-President of that Council, was communicated to the House and read.

My Lord, Edinburgh, March 24, 1650.

I Do, with all humble Thankfulness, acknowledge your high Favour and tender Respect of me, expressed in your Letter, and the Express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

Indeed, my Lord, your Service needs not me; I am a poor Creature, and have been a dry Bone, and am still an unprofitable Servant to my Master and to you: I thought I should have died of this Fit of Sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise.

But,

* Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*. The latter of whom was the Author of *Elencbus Motuum nuperorum in Angliâ*.

Inter-regnum
1651.

April,

‘ But, truly my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain Mercy from the Lord to approve my Heart and Life to him in more Faithfulness and Thankfulness; and those I serve, with more Profitableness and Diligence. And I pray God your Lordship, and all in public Trust, may improve all those unparaelled Experiences of the Lord’s wonderful Workings in your Sight, with Singleness of Heart to his Glory, and the Refreshment of his People, who are to him as the Apple of his Eye, and upon whom your Enemies, both former and latter (who have fallen before you) did split themselves: This shall be the unfeigned Prayer of,

My Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

April 11. This Day more Papers, from the Parliament’s Ambassadors in *Holland*, and two intercepted Letters, were read; upon which the House pass’d the following Resolutions:

Resolutions of
the Parliament
concerning Affronts
offered to
their Ambassadors
at the *Hague*,
who are recalled.

1. ‘ That the Parliament doth approve of what the Ambassadors Extraordinary to the General Assembly of the States of the *United Provinces*, have done upon the Affronts offered to them.

2. ‘ That the Parliament do approve of the Direction given by the Council of State to the said Ambassadors Extraordinary, touching their Return.

3. ‘ That it be referred to the Council of State, upon the Debate now had in the House, on this Report, to give such Orders and Directions as they shall think fit, for the Honour of this Commonwealth and Safety of the Ambassadors.

4. ‘ That the Debates of the House this Day, and the Votes thereupon, be not made known to any Person: And that the Members of the House, and the Officers thereof, be enjoind Secrecy therein for twenty-one Days.’

In

In order to discover, as far as we can, the Reason of these extraordinary Resolutions of the House, we must have Recourse to the Contemporary Writers and Diaries of the Times ^b. These Authorities inform us, That many Affronts and Insults were offered to the Parliament's Ambassadors at the *Hague*, by the Royalists, of which they give the following Instances:—Mr. *Strickland's* Coachman and another of his Servants were attack'd by six Cavaliers, at their Master's own Door; the former of whom received a Cut upon his Head, and the other lost his Sword in the Fray.—The Threats run so high that this Ambassadors Domestics were obliged to keep constant Watch in his House by Turns.—A Design was form'd to assassinate Mr. *St. John*; and an Attempt made to break into his Chamber.—Prince *Edward*, one of the Queen of *Bohemia's* Sons, walking in the Park at the *Hague* with his Sister, and meeting the Ambassadors in their Coach, called out to them, in a taunting Manner, *Oh you Rogues, you Dogs!* with many other high Expressions of his Resentment and Indignation.—But the most remarkable Instance was a kind of Rencontre between the Duke of *York* and Mr. *St. John*, which is related to the following Effect, by a *French Writer* ^c, who gives it us on the Authority of a Gentleman, resident in *Holland* when the Affair happened:—‘Mr. *St. John*, taking a Walk in the Park at the *Hague*, unexpectedly met the Duke on Foot, neither of them recollecting each other till they came up almost Face to Face. This Ambassador of the Commonwealth, thinking it beneath his Dignity to give Way to an exiled Prince, kept his Ground; which the Duke resenting, snatch'd Mr. *St. John's* Hat off his Head, and threw it in his Face with a—*Learn, Parricide, to respect the Brother of your King*; to which the Am-

Inter-regnum
1651.

April.

^b *Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 463. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 44, 45, 46. *Several Proceedings of Parliament*, No. 79, 80, 81. Sir *Edward Nicholas's* Letters, in Mr. *Carte's Collections*, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 427, Vol. II. p. 2.

^c *Histoire d'Olivier Cromwell*, par *Raguenet*, 4to. Paris, 1691, p. 261.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

April.

Ambassador immediately retorted, *I scorn to acknowledge either you, or him of whom you speak, but as a Race of Vagabonds.* Hereupon the Duke instantly clapt his Hand to his Sword; and, in all Probability, the Dispute would not have ended without Bloodshed, had not the Company upon the Walk interfered and parted them.

Complaint being made of all these Matters to the States, they remonstrated to the Queen of *Bohemia*, and the Princess Dowager of *Orange*^d, against the Behaviour of the two Princes.—They offered a Reward of 200 Guilders for Discovery of the other Offenders, and published a very strict Proclamation for the Punishment of all such as should hereafter offer any Violence to the Persons or Privileges of Ambassadors or Agents from foreign Powers.—But all this the new Commonwealth of *England* were so far from looking upon as a sufficient Satisfaction to their injured Honour, that they soon after recalled their Ambassadors.*

Votes in relation
to the Dispute
with *Portugal*.

Several Days, in this Month, were taken up in carrying on a Treaty with the *Portuguese* Agent, and settling the Disputes, on the Matter lately mentioned, between the two Powers. The whole of it is much too large and intricate for our Purpose; but the following Resolutions of Parliament, at the End of it, are too remarkable to be omitted; since they shew the Spirit and Peremptoriness of our new Republic to some Purpose.

Resolved, 1. ' That if the Demands and Propositions now agreed on to be given in to the public Minister of *Portugal*, be not by him consented un-

to

^d The Prince of *Orange*, her Consort, died of the Small-Pox, *Oct.* 27, 1650.

* The Account of the Parliament's Ambassadors Arrival at the *Hague*, and the Harangue made by Mr. *St. John* at their first Audience, which we have already given, were printed by Order of Parliament. Copies of the Memorials, and other Papers, which passed between the States General and these Ambassadors, were preserved by Mr. *Thurloe*, their Secretary; and are printed in the First Volume of his *State Papers*, (p. 177, *et seq.*) published by the Rev. Dr. *Birch*, Secretary to the Royal Society, to whom the Compilers of this Work are obliged for many very valuable Materials,

to within the six Days limited, they, or any of them, are not to be obligatory on the Part of the Parliament.

Inter-regnum,
1651.

April.

2. ' That the several Votes on this Subject be Instructions to the Council of State, in their giving in to the public Minister of *Portugal* the final Resolution of the Parliament on the Treaty that hath hitherto passed between them and the said public Minister; and of demanding from him his Answer to the several Resolutions of Parliament, within the Time limited by the House: Which they are hereby authorized and required to do, and to report their Proceedings therein to the Parliament.

3. ' That such *Englishmen* as have eminently suffered in *Portugal*, in their Persons or Estates, for their good Affections to the Parliament, shall be taken into particular Consideration by the House, for a further Reparation to be given to them, out of the Estates of such other *Englishmen* (in the Power of the Parliament) as have there adhered unto, or assisted, *Rupert* or his Party, over and above the Provisions made for them in the Articles betwixt this Commonwealth and the public Minister from the King of *Portugal*.'

According to these Resolutions, the *Portuguese* Agent returned two several Answers to the House, but each of them was voted unsatisfactory, and three Days Time only allowed to give in another.

In pursuance of the late Act for turning all Law-Proceedings into *English*, the House now began to alter the Dates in their *Journals*; as, instead of *Die Veneris 18^o Aprilis*, to *Friday the 18th of April*; and an Act was passed for referring the Translation of Writs, Processes, and their Returns, and all Patents, Commissions, &c. to the Speaker, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron, or any two or more of them; and it was enacted, That no Mistranslation, or Variation in Form, should vacate any Proceedings at Law. But this Act did not extend to the Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty,

Acts passed in
April.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

May.

miralty, which were to be continued in *Latin*.—
The House also pass'd an Act, authorizing the
Commissioners of the Militia in *England* and *Wales*,
at any Time within the current Year, to impress
such a Number of Soldiers, not exceeding 10,000,
for the Service of the Commonwealth in *Ireland*,
as should be directed by the Council of State.

May. There is a Multiplicity of Matters, of
various Sorts, enter'd in the *Journals* about this
Time, but very few of Moment enough for our
Notice. The House did not sit neither above four
Days in a Week, constantly adjourning themselves
from *Friday* till *Tuesday* Morning: For which
Reason we shall now throw all the most striking
Incidents of a whole Month together, till the great
Variety of important Business done in the House
requires us to resume our Method of Diary.

The *Portuguese* Ambassador gave in his third
Answer within the Time limited, which was also
voted unsatisfactory; and three Days more allow-
ed him for another. At the End of which, the
House being not yet satisfied with the Agent's
Answer, he was ordered to depart the Territories
of the Commonwealth within fourteen Days; the
Ships and Goods of the *Portuguese* were declared
to be lawful Prize; and the Council of State were
ordered to consider how the *English* Merchants and
others, Prisoners in *Portugal*, might be set at Li-
berty.—The said Council also acquainted the
House with the Reasons why they had secured the
Persons of several Ministers and others, in the City
of *London*; which the House referred back again
to the Council, to proceed in the Examination of
the Business, to prepare Evidence, and give Di-
rection for the Trial of such of them as they found
most capital, before the High Court of Justice.—
All the Lodgings at *Whitehall*, the *Mews*, and *Som-
erset-House*, were ordered to be divided into
Apartments, and fitted up for the Use of the Mem-
bers of Parliament, with the best Conveniences
those Places would afford respectively; also to re-
move

move the Soldiers and such other Persons and Families from them, as a Committee should think fit.—General *Cromwell* sent Word, that the Air of *Scotland* did not agree with him; and desired to remove himself to some Part of *England*, untill, by the Blessing of God upon Means used, he might be restored into a Condition of Health and Strength to return to the Army; and, in the mean Time, disposing the Management of Affairs there into such Hands as he should think fit. All which was granted.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

June.

No Acts at all pass'd this Month; nor were there any in the next worth our Notice.

June. The House had finished the last Month in appointing another Day for the solemn seeking the Lord for his Blessing on their Forces by Sea and Land, and the Continuance of his Presence with them. A Question being put, That the Number of Ministers to carry on the Work of that Day, before the Parliament at *Margaret's Church, Westminster*, be three, the House divided, Yeas 23, Noes 31; and it was ordered that Mr. *Owen*, lately appointed by them to be Dean of *Christ-Church, Oxon*, and Mr. *Carryl*, only, should be employed in this Ministry, which was solemnized, on the 4th, with much Devotion.

Almost every Day in this Month was taken up with Debates on a Bill for the Sale of Delinquents Estates; a vast Number of Provisos, Amendments, &c. were proposed to be added to it, which occasioned many Divisions in the House—So difficult a Thing it was to dispossess these poor Sufferers of their Property, with any Colour of Law, Justice, or Reason: But the Bill was not perfected this Month; nor does any Thing else occur therein worth our Notice, but the following Affair:

There had been, some Months since, a Complaint exhibited in Parliament against *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, a Peer of the Realm, but now a Member of the House of Commons for the

A Charge of Bribery exhibited against Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*;

Inter-regnum.

1651.

June.

the City of *Carlisle*. The Witnesses against him had been examined strictly by a Committee of the House appointed for that Purpose. The Circumstances of the Charge are not particularized in the *Journals*: However, Mr. *Ludlow*, in his *Memoirs*, explains this Matter at Length, which we shall therefore give in his own Words^a.

‘ Before I left the Parliament, [to go into *Ireland*] some Difference happening between the Countess of *Rutland* and the Lord *Edward Howard* of *Escrick*, Col. *Gell*, who was a great Servant of the Countess, inform’d Major-General *Harrison*, that this Lord, being a Member of Parliament, and one of the Committee at *Haberdashers-Hall*, had taken divers Bribes for the excusing Delinquents from Sequestration, and easing them in their Compositions; and that, in particular, he had received a Diamond Hatband, valued at 800 *l.* from one Mr. *Compton*, of *Sussex*; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the Parliament.

‘ Major-General *Harrison*, being a Man of severe Principles, and zealous for Justice, especially against such as betrayed the Public Trust reposed in them, assured him, ‘ That if he could satisfy him that the Fact was as he affirmed, he would ‘ not fail to inform the Parliament of it.’ Upon Satisfaction received from the Colonel touching that Matter, the Major-General declared in the House, ‘ That tho’ the Honour of every Member was ‘ dear to him, and of that Gentleman in particular, ‘ naming the Lord *Howard*, because he had so ‘ openly own’d the Interest of the Commonwealth, ‘ as to decline his Peerage, and sit upon the Foot ‘ of his Election by the People; yet he lov’d ‘ Justice before all other Things, looking upon it ‘ to be the Honour of Parliament, and the Image ‘ of God upon them; and therefore he durst not ‘ refuse to lay this Matter before them, though he ‘ was very desirous that the said Lord might clear him-

^a *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 334.

‘himself of the Accusation.’ The Parliament having received this Information, referred the Consideration of the Matter to a Committee, where it was fully examined; and, notwithstanding all the Art of Counsel learned in the Law, who are very skilful in putting a good Appearance upon a bad Cause, and all the Friends Lord *Howard* could make, so just and equitable a Spirit then govern’d, that the Committee represented the Matter to the Parliament as they found it to be.’

Inter-regnum.
1651.

June.

Mr. *Ludlow* then proceeds to the Sentence against the Lord *Howard*:—But this being more amply set forth in the *Journals* of the House, of the 25th of this Month, we shall give it from those Authorities.

‘Resolved, That upon Consideration of the several Charges against *Edward Lord Howard* of *Escrick*, and the Proofs reported, and his Answer and Defence thereupon, the Parliament doth, upon the whole Matter, declare and adjudge him guilty of Bribery: That the said *Edward Lord Howard* be discharged from being a Member of this Parliament, and for ever disabled to sit in any Parliament; and from bearing any Office, or Place of Trust, in this Commonwealth: That he be fined 10,000*l.* committed to the *Tower* during the Pleasure of the Parliament: And that he do attend at the Bar of the House, and, upon his Knee there, receive this Judgment.’

The Sentence
of passed upon him,
&c.

Then the Question being proposed, That the Parliament doth adjudge and declare *Wendy Oxford* [a Witness in this Cause] to be guilty of Perjury and Subornation of Perjury, it passed in the Affirmative; and it was resolved that the said *Wendy Oxford* be fined 500*l.* stand in the Pillory in the *New Palace-Yard* in *Westminster*, and at the *Exchange* in *London*: That he be imprisoned in *Newgate* for three Months; and, after the Expiration of that Term, be banished this Commonwealth, not to return upon Pain of Death.

We shall conclude this Affair with observing, That notwithstanding the Compliment which
Mr.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

Mr. *Ludlow* makes to the Parliament, of the just and equitable Spirit that then governed them, the Lord *Howard* was released from his Imprisonment, in the *Tower*, on the 6th of *August* following; and on the 5th of *April*, 1653, the Fine of 10,000*l.* imposed upon him, was ordered to be discharged.

July 1. This Day the following Letter from Major-General *Lambert*, to the Speaker, was read:

S I R,

Edinburgh, June 24, 1651.

General *Lambert's* Account of the State of the Armies in *Scotland*.

WE are still in our waiting Posture, and it is thought most adviseable for the present to pause a-while, and to take the Rise of our Motion from that of the Enemy; and yet if theirs shall not be so sudden as is expected, we shall not be long ere we begin ours.

This Day our Intelligence being that the Enemy had all Things in Readiness for a March, and that forthwith they were to march to *Glasgow*, we have taken an Alarm from hence to put all our Affairs into a ready marching Posture. The Navy is drawn forth, Monies and Provisions are delivered out to the Regiments, and my Lord-General is in such a good State of Health, that he resolves to undertake this March. 'Tis very probable that they intend for *England*, but whether with their whole Army, or with a Part only, is very doubtful; our Intelligence says that Necessity doth drive them out of their Camp at *Stirling*, and there was such a huge Mutiny amongst their Soldiers for want of Provisions, that they were fain to condescend so low as to shew twelve out of a Regiment the Scarcity of their Stores to appease them.

The Enemy have lately swept away about 40 Dragoon-Horses from *Begg-Hall*, but doubt not but we shall shortly regain this and former Losses of that Nature. You see by this in what State we are at present, I believe by the next you will hear that we are march'd.

Like-

Likewise another Letter from Major-General Lambert, of the same Date. Inter-regnum.
1651.

SINCE my last the Waggon and Carriages for Supply of the Train sent from *London*, being in all thirty-three, are come up; and the Money is now paying out to the several Regiments, viz. six Weeks Pay to the Horse, with Additions of Provisions, and six Weeks Pay to the Foot, as a further Inducement to a March. The last Night we had Intelligence that the Enemy are come off from *Stirling*, with six or seven Regiments of Horse, and the rest of their Horse and Foot are soon to follow, which gave an Occasion for our Horse to draw together last Night. Horse and Foot had Orders for a March this Day, and I suppose the whole Army will be upon their March on *Thursday* next at the farthest.

July.

In consequence of these Letters, which increased the Parliament's Apprehensions of a speedy Visit from the *Scots*, the House ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State, to give Power and Instructions to such Persons, within the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, as they should think fit, for preserving the Peace of the Commonwealth, and preventing all Tumults, Insurrections, and Invasions. Orders of the
House thereupon.

The same Day the Parliament received an Account of the great Success of their Forces in *Ireland*, set forth in several Letters: And first that from Col. *Hewson*, Governor of *Dublin*.

Dublin, June 24, 1651.

Truly Honourable,

YOURS I receiv'd, and thank you for your News. Since my last I have been at *Athlone*, attending the Lord President of *Connaught*, to whom that Castle was delivered the 22d Instant. I furnished his Lordship with most of my best Soldiers, and his Lordship intended to march on the 23d Instant to *Galway*, near unto which Place the *Irish* Army is now secured within

Letters to the
Parliament, of
their Army's
great Success in
Ireland.

Inter-regnum,
1651.

July.

Mountains and great Fastnesses, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-General *O'Farrell*; for *Glanrickard* is lost, or gone after *Ormond* in great Hastē to render him his Commission, as I suppose, for we hear not where he is. All the Rivers and Garrisons between *Limerick* and *Athlone* are now reduced, and almost all *Ireland*.

I march presently into the County of *Wicklow*, with an Intent to mow down their green Corn, that the Rebels may have no Shelter in *Glencree*, *Glenmeelur*, *Glendelough*, *Ravilly*, or any Place of Fastness in that Country, this Winter. When I have done that, I shall in like Manner visit *Glenmeelur*, and those fast Places out of Protection in *King's* and *Queen's* County, and after take in *Cloaryn* upon the *Barrow*, and *Ballencarge*, in the County of *Cavan*; which Services, by the Help of God, I intend with all the Expedition I can, except diverted by other more important Services.

The Wars in *Ireland*, I hope, will be dispatched speedily, and we able, in a short Time, to spare Soldiers to assist our dear Friends and Fellow-workmen in *Scotland*. Gallant *Reynolds* desires to be dispatched thither speedily, supposing, as all of us do now, that the Wars here are hastening to a Period. The Lord is cutting short in Righteousness the great Work of his he hath now begun, yea and he will cut it short in Righteousness; he fighteth for and with his People; his Name is near, his wondrous Works declare; the eminent Outgoings of our God are terrible to his Enemies, sweet and comfortable to his poor People that rest upon him. It is reported of *Asa*, 2 *Chron.* xiii. 18. that he and *Judah* prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their Fathers. Oh would the Lord keep our Hearts in a holy, humble, Walking before him in Sincerity, and draw out our Souls to rely upon him, we should quickly see how soon he would destroy all his Enemies, and establish his Mountain upon the Top of the Mountains, and all Flesh should see the

Salvation of our God. Oh that our dear Friends in England were led out with self-denying Spirits; our Army kept humble whilst the Lord appeareth so visibly amongst them; that our angry Friends would be convinced that the Lord's Hand is lifted up which they would not see; but they shall see and be ashamed for the Envy at the People; and that all that fear the Lord would bow before him, and submit to his Scepter! How pleasant and comely a Thing would it be to behold Brethren to dwell together in Unity, if not in Judgment; all not having one Eye cannot walk by others Light, yet may, in Affections, having one Spirit: *Whosoever feareth God and worketh Righteousness* should be acceptable to one another. The Lord gives sweet Union in this City amongst the precious Sons of Sion. That it were so with you were to be much desired; *the Wisdom that is from above is first pure then peaceable.* That the Lord may fill his People with that Wisdom, is the Desire of

Inter-regnum;

1651.

July.

Your Loving Friend,

JOHN HEWSON.

Next a Letter from Mr. William Basill was read:

Right Honourable, Dublin, June 24, 1651.

SINCE my last unto your Honours, it hath pleased God so far to bless our Arms in Connaught, as to deliver the several Garrisons of Roughra, Portumny, Melecks, Ballinasloe, and Loughrea, into your Hands. On Saturday last the certain News concerning the Surrender of Athlone Castle came hither, which, by Articles, was to be surrendered Yesterday; which I doubt not but was done accordingly.

Sir Charles Goot and Commissary-General Reynolds are marched to Galway, having left a sufficient Party to receive Athlone. My Lord-Deputy is now before Limerick. Castlehaven and Clan-

H h 2

rickard

Inter-regnum.

1651.



July.

‘*rickard* have betaken themselves to *Galway*. The
 ‘*Irish Army* are gone to the Mountains beyond
 ‘*Galway*, to a Place call’d *Irconaught*. Trusting
 ‘God will put a speedy Period to this Work, I am

Your Honour’s humble Servant,

W. BASILL.

By Letters read this Day, from other Parts of *Ireland*, it was certified, ‘That 1000 Horse from the Lord-Deputy *Ireton* had caused all the Rebels at *Ballinasloe*, with the Conjunction of *Castlehaven* and the *Ulster Forces*, to disperse and scatter: That *Clanrickard* and *Castlehaven* went for *Galway*, with divers of the Gentry, leaving only 600 Horse and 2000 Foot with Lieutenant-General *O’Farrell* and Sir *Walter Dungan*, who were afterwards forced to retreat by Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* and Colonel *Reynolds*; also *Ballinasloe*, a considerable Pass over the River, taken, and a Garrison of 40 Foot and 20 Horse put in there; the Enemy pursued to *Moylagh*, and so to *Tuam* and *Irconaught*, they being still more and more scattered. Besides the taking of *Athlone*, *Roughra*, *Portumny*, and *Ballinasloe*, *Melecks* and *Rogcredgh* were taken, and the Castle of *Roscommon* was upon Surrender; *James-Town* offered a Submission; and all *Connaught* was, upon the Matter, reduced, and brought under Contribution.’

Lastly, a Letter from the Lord *Broughill* was read:

SIR,

Castle-Lions, June 7, 1651.

‘SINCE my last of the 25th of *May*, that
 ‘I gave you an Account of my having suppress’d
 ‘and destroyed a Troop of the Enemy’s Dragoons,
 ‘that lodged some sixteen Miles from *Blarney*, my
 ‘Lord *Muskery*’s Regiment of Horse came to beat
 ‘up my Troopers Quarters at *Blarney*; but the
 ‘Lord was pleas’d to prevent them, and also to
 ‘give

' give me the Desire to follow them, which I did
 ' with only 100 Horse, most of my own Troop.
 ' After six Miles March we overtook them drawn
 ' up in four great Divisions on the other Side of a
 ' Pass, where but three could go a-breast for above
 ' 50 Yards: There we charged them, and, after a
 ' handsome Dispute, God, by us, was pleased to
 ' give them an entire Rout. Most of their Men
 ' were killed and wounded, amongst whom were
 ' 16 Officers, the best Men they had. We got
 ' good Store of Horses and Arms; and, to indear
 ' the Mercy, I lost not one Man, and had only
 ' eight wounded, and none of them mortally. In
 ' the Number of our Prisoners I took one Cornet
 ' *Barnwall*, who, having served under my Com-
 ' mand since I came for *Ireland*, we caused to be
 ' shot to Death for his Revolt. This is the first
 ' Time that ever I remember Horse to Horse
 ' fought in *Ireland*. After God was pleased to ho-
 ' nour us with this Success, I had Intelligence that
 ' a great Party of the Rebels Horse and Foot were
 ' come over *Blackwater* into our Quarters near
 ' this Place, upon which I went to fight them with
 ' such Force as I could on the Instant get together,
 ' that is two Troops of Horse and one of Dra-
 ' goons.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

' Providence so ordered it that, in *Castle-Lyons*
 ' Town, we fell upon Part of three Regiments of
 ' their Horse; who, having the Advantage of a
 ' Bridge, fought very well, and put 60 of our
 ' Horse to a stand; and indeed into some Disor-
 ' der; but at length he that is the Giver of Victo-
 ' ries gave us this over these Enemies, whom we
 ' had the Execution of for five Miles; so as I think
 ' not ten of them got off, and not above three un-
 ' wounded. We took but 29 Prisoners, most of
 ' them Officers or Gentlemen's Sons. I had but
 ' one Man killed, six of my own Troop wounded,
 ' and my Cornet, who did gallantly, is, I fear,
 ' mortally shot. This was a very signal Mercy,
 ' and will, I hope, give us some little Breathing
 ' in this Country. As we were in the Execution,

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

‘ a Body of the Rebels Foot and a Troop of their
 ‘ Horse appeared two Miles off. I rallied a Party
 ‘ together, and went to fight them; but some of
 ‘ their Scouts being kill’d and taken, the rest fled
 ‘ to a great Wood faster than our wearied Horse
 ‘ could follow them. In both these there was
 ‘ little of us, and much of God, which we endea-
 ‘ voured to acknowledge to him upon the Place.

‘ Just as I was concluding this Letter, I receiv’d
 ‘ the certain and joyful News of our Army’s ha-
 ‘ ving pass’d the *Shannon* at *Killalagh*, and of their
 ‘ having had good Execution upon the Rebels that
 ‘ defended the Passes: As also that Sir *Charles*
 ‘ *Coot* was joined with my Lord-Deputy in *Con-*
 ‘ *naught*: So that I trust our Work will be short,
 ‘ and I now able to turn Plowman next Winter.’

Your affectionate and faithful Servant,

BROGHILL.

This being our first Mention of Lord *Broghill*,
 (afterwards Earl of *Orrery*) who makes so great a
 Figure in the succeeding Part of this History, the
 Occasion of his quitting the Royal Cause, and
 espousing that of the new Commonwealth, will
 fall very properly in this Place; and the rather,
 as nothing can more strongly evidence *Crom-*
well’s deep Penetration into Mankind, nor shew
 plainer the Wisdom and Niceness with which he
 made Choice of his Friends. The Account of this
 extraordinary Affair is thus drawn up by Mr.
Morrice, Lord *Broghill*’s Chaplain^f, to whom the
 Particulars were communicated by his Lordship
 himself, and whose Veracity is not to be que-
 stioned.

‘ Af-

^f This very interesting Piece of Biography stands prefix’d to a
 Collection of *Roger* Earl of *Orrery*’s *State Letters*, containing a
 Series of Correspondence between the Duke of *Ormond* and him,
 from the Restoration to the Year 1668, &c. published, in *Folio*,
Ann 1742, and introduced to the Public with a judicious and ele-
 gant Preface, written, as we are inform’d, by a Noble Descendent
 of his Lordship, whose Learning and Abilities do Honour to the
 Family of the *Boyles*.

After the horrid Murder was committed upon the King's sacred Person, Lord *Brogbill*, giving up all *Ireland* for lost, retired into *England*, to a small Estate left him by his Father, at *Marston* in *Somersetshire*, where he lived till 1649.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

During this Retirement, his Lordship lamenting the sad Condition of the Royal Family, and the Ruin of these Kingdoms, and reflecting upon the Cruelties and Inhumanities of the *Irish* Rebels, he at last thought it too much below his Spirit and Duty to sit still, and see all Rights thus trampled under Foot by Usurpers. He resolved therefore to attempt something for the public as well as private Good; and accordingly, under Pretence of going to the *Spa* Waters in *Germany*, he intended to cross the Seas, and apply himself to King *Charles II.* for a Commission to raise what Forces he could, to restore his Majesty in *Ireland*, and to recover his own Estate, then given for lost. But in order to the accomplishing this Resolution he sent to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had an Interest in the prevailing Party, desiring him to procure a Licence for him to pass beyond the Seas to the *Spa*; not acquainting that Lord with the main Intent of his going, and only communicating his Design to some Friends, whom he imagined to be loyal and secret. He had already made up a considerable Sum of Money, and was now arrived at *London*, in order to prosecute his Voyage; when a Gentleman belonging to *Cromwell*, who was then made General in Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Place, came to his Lodgings to let him know that the General, his Master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew but the Hour when he would be at Leisure to receive him. My Lord was very much surprized at this Passage, because he never had any Acquaintance with *Cromwell*, nor ever exchanged one Word with him. Wherefore he told the Gentleman, he presumed he was mistaken, and that he was not the Person to whom the General had sent him with that Message. The Gentleman made Answer, He was sent to the Lord *Brogbill*; and therefore, if he was that Lord, he was sent to him.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July,

him. My Lord, finding there was no Mistake in the Gentleman, owned that he was the Lord *Brog-bill*; but desired the Gentleman to present his humble Service to the General, and to let him know that he would not give him the Trouble to come to him, but that he would wait on the General, if he knew where he was, and when he might; and to that End would immediately make himself ready for it. The Gentleman told my Lord he would acquaint his Excellency with it, and so took his Leave.

‘ His Lordship, in the mean Time, was mightily concern’d what *Cromwell’s* Business with him should be. While he was thus musing, *Cromwell* came to him; and, after mutual Salutations, told him, he had a great Kindness and Respect for his Lordship, and therefore he was come to acquaint him with something that did very nearly concern him, and to give him his Advice in the Matter. He then proceeded to let him know, that the Council of State was acquainted with his Designs, that he was come to Town in order to his passing beyond Sea; but, instead of going to the *Spa*, for his Gout, was going to the King for a Commission to raise Men, and oppose their Government in *Ireland*; and that, under this Pretence, the Earl of *Warwick* had got him a Licence from the State to pass the Seas.

‘ As *Cromwell* was going on, my Lord interrupted him, and told him, he presumed his Excellency was mistaken in the Matter, for he was not capable of doing any Thing that Way; and therefore desired him to believe no such Thing. But *Cromwell* told him, he had good Proof for what he said, and could shew Copies of his Letters to that Purpose, and therefore desired him not to deceive himself; for the Council had ordered him to be clapt in the *Tower* upon his Arrival in Town; which had been executed accordingly, had not he himself interposed in his Behalf, and procured some Time to confer with him, to see whether he might not be drawn off from his Design.

‘ Upon

‘ Upon this, and other Circumstances, my Lord, finding that he was discovered, begg’d *Cromwell*’s Pardon, and thank’d him for his Kindness, and desired him to advise him what to do. *Cromwell* told him, that neither he, nor the Council, were Strangers to his Actions in the *Irish* War; and therefore the subduing of the *Irish* Rebels being now left to his Care, he had obtained Leave from the Council to make an Offer to Lord *Brogbill*, that if he would serve in the Wars against the *Irish*, he should have a General Officer’s Command, and should have no Oaths nor Engagements laid upon him, nor should be obliged to fight against any but the *Irish*. My Lord did not a little wonder at this large Offer, and would have excused himself, desiring some Time to consider of it: But *Cromwell* told him, he must resolve presently, for there was no Time to deliberate, because the Council, from whom he came, were resolved to send his Lordship to the *Tower*, as soon as ever *Cromwell* should return to them, in case this Offer was not readily accepted.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

‘ Lord *Brogbill* seeing no Subterfuges could any longer be made use of, and finding his Liberty and Life were in Danger, whereby he might be rendered utterly incapable of serving his Majesty; and not knowing but, by accepting this Offer, he might afterwards be serviceable to the Royal Party, he resolved to accept of it upon the Conditions which *Cromwell* mentioned; promising, upon his Word and Honour, he would faithfully assist *Cromwell* in subduing the *Irish* Rebellion. Whereupon *Cromwell* assured him he should have those Conditions perform’d to a Tittle; and desired him to hasten down to *Bristol*, where Men should be sent to him, and Ships wait for his Transportation, and he himself would follow him with another Army; all which was accordingly done.’

Mr. *Morrice* adds, ‘ That he has heard Lord *Brogbill* often declare, That he look’d upon this as a singular Providence to him; because hereby he was preserved in a Capacity to save many Men’s Lives,

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

Lives, and do many Services for the King and Royal Party, which he had not otherwise been able to do; many Instances of which he gives in the Course of this Nobleman's Life.

But to return to the Proceedings of the House.

The late Ambassadors to the States General give the House an Account of their Negotiation,

July 2. We have before taken Notice of the Parliament's Ambassadors to the States General being recalled:—This Day they took their Seats in the House, when the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Mr. *Strickland* standing by him, gave an Account of their Negotiation, beginning with the Particulars of their Reception at the *Hague*; and presenting the several Papers delivered in, on either Side, in the Business of the Treaty: They also declared the Occasion of them, with the several Passages and Occurrences which passed between them and the Assembly of the States, and the Letters Re-Credential from the said Assembly, in *French*, directed thus: *Au Parlement de la Republique d'Angleterre*.

These several Papers being read, it was resolv'd, That the Parliament doth approve of all the Proceedings of the Lords Ambassadors in this Negotiation; and that they have the Thanks of the House for their great and faithful Services therein; which the Speaker gave them accordingly. The same Compliment was also paid to the Gentlemen that attended them abroad, for their Services to the Parliament, and the Respect shewn to their Ambassadors.

Thus ended this fruitless Embassy, which Mr. *Ludlow* accounts for in this Manner:

This Negotiation was designed to procure a nearer Conjunction and Coalition between the two States, but it proved ineffectual; the Province of *Holland* being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected, and *Friseland*, with most of the rest of the Provinces, entirely against it; presuming that such a Conjunction, as we demanded, would

would be no less than rendering those Countries a Province to *England*: So that our Ambassadors having used all possible Means to succeed in their Business, and finding the *Dutch* unwilling to conclude with us whilst the King had an Army in the Field, returned to *England*, without effecting any Thing but the Expence of a great Sum of Money.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

July.

This Disappointment, adds our *Memorialist*, sat so heavy upon the haughty Spirit of the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, that he reported these Transactions with the highest Aggravations against the States; and thereby was a principal Instrument to prevail with the Council of State to move the Parliament to pass an Act prohibiting foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except such as were of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country to which the said Ships did belong. This Law, though just in itself, and very advantageous to the *English* Nation, was so highly resented by the *Dutch*, who had for a long Time driven the Trade of *Europe* by the great Number of their Ships, that it soon proved to be the Ball of Contention between the two Nations.

This Account of Mr. *Ludlow* is confirmed by another Contemporary^b, who adds, 'That when the States Commissioners came to take their Leave of the Parliament's Ambassadors, Mr. *St. John* gave them these parting Words:—*My Lords, You have an Eye upon the Event of the Affairs of the Kingdom of Scotland, and therefore do refuse the Friendship we have offered: Now I can assure you that many in the Parliament were of Opinion that we should not have come hither, or any Ambassadors been sent to you, before they had put an End to the Contest between themselves and that King; and then expected your Ambassadors to us. I now perceive our Error, and that those Gentlemen were in the Right: In a short Time you shall see that Business ended; and then you will come to us, and seek what we have freely offered, when it shall perplex you that*

^b Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 287.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

July.

Mr. Love being
under Sentence
of Death for Cor-
responding with
the King,

that you have refused our Proffer.'—All which was verified by the Event.

Last Month Mr. *Christopher Love*, a Presbyterian Minister, was tried before the High Court of Justice¹, for High Treason against the State, in holding Correspondence with the King of Scotland and his Party, and supplying them with Money; of which being convicted, and having received Sentence to be beheaded for his Offence, the House was not only petitioned by himself and Wife to spare his Life, but also by several Parishes in *London*, and divers Ministers, who warmly solicited the Parliament in his Favour. This occasioned several Questions to be put, and as many Divisions of the House thereupon: A Motion for his being pardoned passed in the Negative; but another, That his Execution should be respited for a Month, was carried in the Affirmative, on a Division of 35 against 27; though it proved but a small Respite from Execution. This Reprieve was gained by a Petition of fifty-four Ministers, presented on the 15th of this Month, a Copy of which is given us in one of the *Diaries* of these Times as follows:

To the Supreme Authority, the PARLIAMENT of
the COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND,

The PETITION of divers MINISTERS in and
about the City of *London*,

Humbly sheweth,

Several Ministers
present a Petition
to the Parlia-
ment in his Fa-
vour.

THAT as we unfeignedly desire the Peace and Prosperity of this Commonwealth, so we cannot but express our tender Compassion to our beloved Brother *Christopher Love*, now under Sentence, and near the Stroke, of Death; and are thereby constrained to cast down ourselves at your Feet, beseeching you to take into your serious and merciful Consideration:

That

¹ The Proceedings against him are printed in the *State Trials*, Vol. II. p. 83.

That by the present Execution of the Sentence, the Life of his afflicted Wife, and unborn Infant, may be eminently endangered:

Inter-regnum.

1651.

July.

That the Hopes and Expectations of the common Enemy, against Compliance with whom he made open Protestation at his Trial, will be heightened: And

That the Hearts of many that fear God, and even of them who are well-affected with this present Government, will be made sad.

Whereas your Petitioners humbly conceive that your gracious Forbearance will manifest to the World that you put a Difference betwixt those who offend from Principles of Enmity against God and his People, and others who transgress through the Mistakes of an erroneous Conscience, in the midst of great and various Changes: And herein you will be Followers of God, who in the midst of Judgment remembers Mercy, and exalts himself to be gracious.

And we are persuaded that your Favour and Goodness, extended to him this Day, will soften and sweeten the Spirits of many in the Land, and provoke them to render many Thanksgivings to God on your Behalf. And we hope the Lord, who hath thus joined our Hearts in this humble Request, will improve it to a further Degree of Love and Union.

Your Petitioners humbly beseech you in the Bowels of Jesus Christ (who when we were Sinners died for us) if not totally to spare the Life of our dear Brother; yet that you would say of him as Solomon of Abiathar, That at this Time he shall not be put to Death.

And your Petitioners shall humbly pray, &c.

Several more Criminals against the State were upon their Trials before the High Commission Court, about this Time; an Account of some of which will follow in the Sequel.

The News from Scotland, this Month, amounted to little more than that the King's Army remained in their Fastnesses, industriously avoiding an Engagement, though Cromwell continued to use his

Inter-regnum.
1651.

July.

his utmost Efforts to provoke them to it; their Aim being to keep the *English* in Play till the Winter's Scarcity of Provisions for their Horse should force them to return to their own Country: However,

July 25. The Parliament received, from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Advice of a great Victory obtained in *Scotland* by a Detachment of their Forces, under the Command of Major-General *Lambert*, address'd by way of Letter to the Speaker; a Copy whereof we shall give as published, at this Time, by Order of the House.

SIR,

Linlithgow, July 21, 1651.

Gen. *Cromwell's*
Advice of a Vic-
tory over the
Scots in *Fife*.

AFTER our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what Course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us, of his great Mercy, we were directed to send a Party to get us a Landing by our Boats, whilst we marched towards *Glasgow*.

On *Thursday* Morning last Col. *Overton*, with about 1400 Foot, and some Horse and Dragoons, landed at the *North-Ferry*, in *Fife*: We, with the Army lying near to the Enemy, a small River parting us and them, had Consultations to attempt the Enemy within his Fortifications; but the Lord was not pleased to give Way to that Counsel, purposing a better Way for us.

Major-General *Lambert* marched on *Thursday* Night with two Regiments of Horse and two Regiments of Foot, for better securing the Place, and to attempt upon the Enemy as Opportunity should serve: He getting over, and finding a considerable Body of the Enemy there, (who would probably have beaten our Men from the Place, if he had not come) drew out and fought them; he being two Regiments of Horse, and about 400 of Horse and Dragoons more, and three Regiments of Foot; the Enemy five Regiments of Foot, and about four or five Regiments of Horse: They came to a close Charge, and in the End

totally

* Printed by *John Field*, Printer to the Parliament of *England*.

‘ totally routed the Enemy; have taken about forty
 ‘ or fifty Colours, killed near two Thousand, some
 ‘ say more; have taken Sir *John Brown*, their
 ‘ Major-General, who commanded in chief, and
 ‘ other Colonels and considerable Officers killed
 ‘ and taken, and about five or six hundred Prison-
 ‘ ers. The Enemy is removed from their Ground
 ‘ with their whole Army, but whither we know
 ‘ not certainly.

‘ This is an unspeakable Mercy; I trust the
 ‘ Lord will follow it until he hath perfected Peace
 ‘ and Truth: We can truly say we were gone as
 ‘ far as we could in our Counsel and Action, and
 ‘ we did say one to another, *We knew not what*
 ‘ *to do*; wherefore it is sealed upon our Hearts,
 ‘ that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord’s
 ‘ Goodness, and not from Man. I hope it becom-
 ‘ eth me to pray, that we may walk humbly and
 ‘ self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly
 ‘ also, that you whom we serve, as the Authority
 ‘ over us, may do the Work committed to you,
 ‘ with Uprightness and Faithfulness, and thorough-
 ‘ ly as to the Lord; that you may not suffer any
 ‘ thing to remain that offends the Eyes of his Jea-
 ‘ lously; that the common Weal may more and more
 ‘ be sought, and Justice done impartially. For
 ‘ the Eyes of the Lord run too and fro, and as he
 ‘ finds out his Enemies here to be avenged on
 ‘ them, so will he not spare them for whom he doth
 ‘ Good; if, by his Loving-kindness, they become
 ‘ not good. I shall take the humble Boldness to
 ‘ represent this Engagement in the Words of
 ‘ *David*, in the 119th Psalm, and 134th Verse,
 ‘ *Deliver me from the Oppression of Man, so will*
 ‘ *I keep thy Precepts.* I take Leave and rest,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

P. S. ‘ The Carriage of the Major-General, as
 ‘ in all other Things, so in this, is worthy of your
 ‘ taking

Inter-regnum.
1651.

July,

For which a
Thanksgiving-
Day is appointed.

taking Notice of; as also the Colonels Okey,
Overtan, Daniel, West, Lidcot, Syler, and the
rest of the Officers.

After reading this Letter the House ordered,
That, the next Lord's Day, the Ministers of *Lon-*
don, the late Lines of Communication, and Bills
of Mortality, do render Thanks to Almighty God
for his wonderful Mercy in this great Success given
to the Parliament's Forces in *Scotland*, on the 20th
Instant; and implore the Continuance of God's
Blessing upon the Proceedings of the Forces of this
Commonwealth there, and the perfecting of his
own Work to his Praise.

Acts passed in
July.

The Acts passed in this Month were, *For ap-*
pointing an Assize to be held at Durham the 11th of
August, 1651. Another *For Sale of the Lands and*
Estates forfeited for High Treason against the Com-
monwealth. This Act, which consists of above 14
Pages in *Folio*, gives us a List of the unhappy Suf-
ferers thereby; among which are many of the prin-
cipal Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. The
Names of these will make a proper Addition to
those whose Estates were sequester'd or compound-
ed for during the Civil Wars; of which we have
drawn out an exact Account from the *Journals*,
and may probably be an Appendix to some future
Volume. Also an Act for explaining one pass'd in
1649, *For Sale of the Goods and Personal Estates*
of the late King, Queen, and Prince of Wales,
whereby the Meaning of the Words *Goods* and
Personal Estates were deemed to extend only to
Jewels, Plate, Furs, Hangings, Statues, Medals,
Pictures, Wardrobe-Stuff, Household-Furniture;
and all Libraries, except that of *James's House*,
and the Medals, Rings, Globes, and Mathematical
Instruments thereto belonging; with a Penalty for
concealing any Goods belonging to the Crown, and
Rewards for Discovery. An Act likewise *For in-*
flicting a Penalty of 15l. for every red or fallow
Deer killed without the Consent of the Owner. Be-
sides

sides which, on the 9th of this Month the House resolved, That the Marshal's Court, in *Southwark*, be absolutely dissolved; and that no further Suit, Action, or Proceeding, be held therein. And this Vote was ordered to be made public accordingly; which was done, without the Formality of being passed into an Act.

Inter-regnum
1651.

August.

August. This Month begins with a Report made to the House, by Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. from the Council of State, of Extracts of two Letters from the Lord-General *Cromwell*, which were read:

S I R, Dundas, July 24, 1651.

‘IT hath pleased God to put your Affairs here in Letters from General *Cromwell* in some hopeful Way, since the late Defeat given to the Enemy in Scotland.

‘I marched with the Army very near to *Stirling*, hoping thereby to get the Pass, and went myself with General *Deane* and some others up to *Bannockburn*; hearing that the Enemy were marched on the other Side, towards our Forces in *Fife*. Indeed they went on four or five Miles towards them; but, hearing of my Advance, in all Haste they retreated back, and possessed the Park and their other Works, which we viewed; but finding them not adviseable to attempt, resolved to march to *Queen's-Ferry*, and there to ship over so much of the Army as might hopefully be Master of the Field in *Fife*, which accordingly we have almost perfected; and have left, on this Side, somewhat better than four Regiments of Horse, and as many Foot.

‘I hear now the Enemy's great Expectation is to supply themselves in the West with Recruits of Men, and what Victual they can get; for they may expect none out of the North, when once our Army shall interpose between them and *St. Johnstoun*, to prevent their Prevalency in the West, and making Incurfions into the Borders of England.

Linlithgow, July 26, 1651.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

WE are with ten Regiments of Foot, and ten of Horse, in *Fife*, and eight Cannon ready for the Field. We have discovered the Enemy, which we found to be their whole Army; we thought they would have fought us, but they retreated.

Our Party is made so strong on the other Side the Water, that they are fit to fight the Enemy, if they can be brought to engage: They are sufficient to check any Attempt of theirs from breaking into *England*.

Inchgarvy, a Castle upon a Rock between *Queen's-Ferry* and the Neck of the Land, is surrendered, with 16 Pieces of Ordnance and all the Ammunition in it, except the Soldiers Swords, with which and their Baggage they marched away.

Whereupon the Parliament resolve to augment their Forces.

Notwithstanding General *Cromwell* seemed, by the two foregoing Letters, to be a sufficient Match for the *Scots* Army, yet the Parliament were determined not to be unprovided against the worst: Accordingly they resolved, That Liberty be given to the Council of State, to take into Pay 4000 Foot, besides Officers, to be added to the Establishment, for three Months, which might make up a Body to take the Field, to answer all Emergencies; for whose Support and Maintenance the Sum of 20,000*l.* was granted. And it appears, by an Estimate of the Charge of the Parliament's Army, presented to the House on the 6th, That the Monthly Pay thereof, at this Time, amounted to 157,096*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* over and above the 20,000*l.* last voted, viz.

For <i>England</i> ,	—	—	65,596	19	8
<i>Ireland</i> ,	—	—	20,000	0	0
<i>Scotland</i> ,	—	—	71,500	0	0

£ 157,096 19 8

A monstrous Sum! And of itself a sufficient Evidence of the miserable Condition of the People of *England*, who were obliged to raise it.

But

But the expected Invasion of the *Scots* did not so wholly engross the Parliament's Attention, as to exclude all Regard for Civil Matters: For,

Inter-regnum,
1651.
August.

Aug. 6. The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* having reported, from the Council of State, That they had taken into their Consideration the Usefulness of the Office of Records in the *Tower*, not only to particular Men, but in general to the Commonwealth; and had also been informed, that, by putting down the Court of Wards, the profitable Part of the Office of Records was taken away, so as that those who attended it had no Means of Subsistence; whereby these Records, of so much Concernment to the Public, were in Danger of being rendered useless, or lost, or otherwise disordered: The House resolved, That the Master of the Rolls, for the Time being, have the Care and Superintendency of the Office of Keeper of the Records in the *Tower of London*. That *Mr. Ryley*¹ be the Clerk thereof, with an Allowance of 200*l.* per Annum for himself and his Under-Clerks. That he should, from henceforth, take only 2*s.* 6*d.* for every Search; in lieu of the 10*s.* formerly taken; and forthwith make a perfect Calendar of all the Records in the *Tower*, and return the same to the Clerk of the Parliament, to be kept among the Records thereof.

Orders for Preservation of the Public Records.

On the 9th of this Month, in the Evening, the Council of State received, by an Express from *Mr. George Downing*, dated from *Newcastle* the 7th, a Relation of the Progress of the Parliament's Forces in *Scotland*; and advising, That the King had wholly abandon'd that Kingdom, and in Despair, with what Forces were left with him, march'd into *England*; Part of the Parliament's Forces being in his Van, and the Lord-General *Cromwell* following in his Rear. The House being adjourn'd for four Days, the Council thought this Intelligence so important, that the next Morning after the Receipt thereof, though a *Sunday*, they publish'd *Mr. Downing's* Narrative; and wrote a Letter to

The Council of State receive Advice of the *Scots* Army being enter'd into *England*.

500 *The Parliamentary* HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

the Lord Mayor, desiring it to be read in the Congregation where his Lordship should attend Divine Service on that Day. This Narrative is in our *Collections*^m; but we pass it over on purpose to make Way for that of the Lord-General himself, as communicated to the House, and read there on the 12th, as follows :

*For the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq;
Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth
of England.*

S I R, *Leith, August 4, 1651.*

General Crom-
well's Letter to
the Speaker on
that Occasion.

IN Pursuance of the Providence of God, and that Blessing lately given to your Forces in *Fife*, and finding that the Enemy being Masters of the Pass at *Stirling*, could not be gotten out there without hindering his Provisions at *St. Johnstoun*; we, by general Advice, thought fit to attempt *St. Johnstoun*, knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his Pass; wherefore, leaving with Major-General *Harrison* about 3000 Horse and Dragoons, besides those which are with Col. *Rich*, Col. *Saunders*, and Col. *Barton* upon the Borders, we marched to *St. Johnstoun*; and, lying one Day before it, we had it surrendered to us; during which Time we had some Intelligence of the Enemy's marching Southward, though with some Contradictions, as if it had not been so; but doubting it might be true, we (leaving a Garrison in *St. Johnstoun* and sending Lieutenant-General *Monck* with about 5 or 6000 to *Stirling*, to reduce that Place; and, by it, to put your Affairs into a good Posture in *Scotland*) marched with all possible Expedition back again, and had passed our Foot and many of our Horse over the *Firth* this Day, resolving to make what Speed we can up to the Enemy; who, in this Desperation and Fear, and out of inevitable Necessity, is run to try what he can do this Way. I do apprehend that if he goes for *England*, being some
few

^m Printed by *William Du-Gard*, by the Appointment of the Council of State, *August 10, 1651.*

few Days March before us, it will trouble some Men's Thoughts, and may occasion some Inconveniences ; of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent as any. And indeed this is our Comfort, that, in Simplicity of Heart as to God, we have done to the best of our Judgments ; knowing that if some Issue were not put to this Business, it would occasion another Winter's War, to the Ruin of your Soldiery, for whom the *Scots* are too hard in respect of enduring the Winter Difficulties of this Country, and been an endless Expence of Treasure to *England* in prosecuting this War.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interpoling between him and *England*, which truly I believe we might ; but how to remove him out of this Place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding Army on both Sides of the River of *Forth*, is not clear to us ; or how to answer the Inconveniences afore-mentioned, we understand not : We pray therefore that, seeing there is a Possibility for the Enemy to put you to some Trouble, you would, with the same Courage, grounded upon a Confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great Things God hath used you in hitherto, you would improve the best you can such Forces as you have in Readiness, or may on the Sudden be gathered together, to give the Enemy some Check, untill we shall be able to reach up to him ; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost Endeavour in. And indeed we have this comfortable Experiment from the Lord, that this Enemy is heart-smitten by God ; and, whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the Desperateness of this Counsel of theirs to appear, and the Folly of it also. When *England* was much more unsteady than now, and when a much more considerable Army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded you, and we had but a weak Force to make Resistance at

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

Preston, upon deliberate Advice, we chose rather to put ourselves between their Army and *Scotland*; and how God succeeded that, is not well to be forgotten.

This is not out of Choice on our Part, but by some kind of Necessity; and it is to be hoped will have the like Issue, together with a hopeful End of your Work; in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the Earnest of former Experiences, and Hope of his Presence, which only is the Life of your Cause.

Major-General *Harrison*, with the Horse and Dragoons under him, and Col. *Rich*, and the rest in those Parts, shall attend the Motion of the Enemy, and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his March; and will be ready to be in Conjunction with what Forces shall gather together for this Service, to whom Orders have been speeded to that Purpose, as this inclosed to Major-General *Harrison* will shew. Major-General *Lambert* this Day marched with a very considerable Body of Horse up towards the Enemy's Rear: With the rest of the Horse and nine Regiments of Foot, most of them of your old Foot and Horse, I am hastening up; and shall, by the Lord's Help, use the utmost Diligence. I hope I have left a commanding Force, under Lieutenant-General *Monck*, in *Scotland*. This Account I thought my Duty to speed to you, and rest

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

A Letter from Major-General *Lambert* to Major-General *Harrison*, referred to in the foregoing.

SIR,

Leith, August 5, 1651.

Other Letters
upon the same
Subject.

WE are come to *Leith* with our Foot, and most of our Horse, only Part of our Train and Baggage-Horse are behind; we hope to march this Day with the Foot, and Part of the Train, four or five Miles, and so to be jogging on

as

‘ as fast as we can towards *England*, by the way of
 ‘ *Jedburgh* or *Kelfo*. My Lord hath commanded
 ‘ me to march away before with the Horse, to trouble
 ‘ the Enemy in the Rear; and I am now ready to
 ‘ begin my march; and shall, I trust in the Lord,
 ‘ lose no Time. My Lord-General hath com-
 ‘ manded me to signify so much unto you, and to
 ‘ desire you, with all convenient Speed, to march
 ‘ with the Horse and Dragoons with you towards
 ‘ the Enemy, where you may best flank them,
 ‘ straiten their Provisions, and do Service as you see
 ‘ Opportunity upon them.

Inter-regnum.
 1651.
 August.

‘ His Excellency likewise desires that Col. *Rich*,
 ‘ with the seven Troops, may march into your
 ‘ Van, and ly as close and as safely as you can, for
 ‘ the same Ends before-mentioned, for stopping of
 ‘ any coming in unto them, and to encourage the
 ‘ Country that the Army is coming on. I intend
 ‘ to keep as close in the Rear as I can, yet some-
 ‘ thing to the Left Hand, so as I may be in a Ca-
 ‘ pacity to correspond or join with you as Occasion
 ‘ requires.

‘ If it please God that we can stop Victual from
 ‘ them, and delay their expected Recruits, they are,
 ‘ we conceive, in a most low Condition; we verily
 ‘ believe that Want of Victual hath forced them
 ‘ to this Course, which I hope will break them
 ‘ Root and Branch.

‘ My Lord, having taken *St. Johnstoun*, a very
 ‘ considerable Town, has left there a very good
 ‘ Garrison; and, besides that, a Force sufficient
 ‘ with Lieutenant-General *Moncke* for the taking
 ‘ of *Stirling* Castle. The Town of *Stirling* is
 ‘ quitted, and I hope *Moncke* is in it, and keeping
 ‘ that Hold in *Scotland* which the Lord hath given
 ‘ us. I should enlarge further, but that this Bearer,
 ‘ the Scout-Master General, will be able to inform
 ‘ you more particularly. Sir, the Lord bless your
 ‘ and our Endeavours, which is the Hope of

Your most affectionate and faithful Servant,
 H. LAMBERT.

‘ Major-

Inter-regnum.
1651.

August.

Major-General *Harrison's* Letter to the Lord-
President of the Council of State.Newcastle, 7th of the sixth Month,
1651, at 11 o'Clock Forenoon.

My Lord,

‘ **H**AVING lately given your Lordship an Account, from *Berwick*, of the several Intelligences we had concerning the King of Scots Intendment for *England*, I forbore to give you any further Trouble therein; till, coming nearer, I might receive a more certain Understanding of them. On the fifth Instant I reached this Place, where receiving, from divers Hands, Expresses of their being near the Borders, I staid all Yesterday to get up the Troops with Col. *Rich* and Col. *Barton*, from about *Hexham*, and ten Troops following from *Scotland*. I judged it also my Duty, and accordingly dispatched Letters, whereof I have inclosed a Copy, to the Commissioners of Parliament in the several Counties of *Lancaster*, *York*, *Chester*, *Stafford*, *Salop*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and the six Counties of *North Wales*, to give them timely Notice hereof; that, if it might be, some Foot may be suddenly got together in the Van of the Enemy to assist the Horse, and to check them till our Army might overtake them. The last Night I received Letters from the Governor of *Carlisle*, signifying that Yesterday the Enemy's Army got upon *English* Ground, and seemed to intend for *Lancashire*. I shall not mention Particulars, but have inclosed the two last Letters, whereto I refer you. I have withall about 3000 Horse, whereof but four Troops are Dragoons. The Foot being mounted, I hope to put some Trouble upon the Enemy in their march.

‘ Just now I received an Express from his Excellency, signifying, that having taken *St. Johnston*, left a Party of the Army to make good *Fife*, and possess the Town of *Sirling*, which the Enemy hath quitted, he hath dispatch'd Major-Ge-
neral

neral Lambert, with about 3 or 4000 Horse, to pursue the Enemy in the Rear, who is already far on his March from *Leith*; and his Excellency follows with the Foot and Train, with all possible Expedition. So that the Lord hath now tempted out the Enemy from his Trenches, Fastnesses, and Advantages; and we doubt not but he will very speedily discomfit them, and cut this Work short in Righteousness.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

August.

I shall humbly offer it to you, if, in this Juncture, I might get together 4 or 500 godly Men well mounted, that you would be pleased to make some Provision for them, for a Month or two. And surely this is a Time wherein God doth, and I rest confident you will, own all such. Being in very great Haste I commend you to the Lord, and remain,

Your humble and faithful Servant,

T. HARRISON.

A Copy of one of the Letters mentioned in the foregoing, address'd to the Parliament's Commissioners for the County of York.

*Newcastle, 6th Day of the sixth
Month, August, 1651.*

Gentlemen,

THE Lord having so ordered it, that our Army are Masters of Fife, by which the Enemy gives up their Expectations of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated for Want of Provisions, as to their last Refuge, to run for England, taking the Opportunity of our Armies being on the other Side the great River. And though there be a mighty Spirit of Terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them; yet their large Promises to their Soldiers, of Plunder in England, bear up the Spirits of divers to make another Adventure for it, forgetting the large Testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains that you and every good Man give all Diligence to improve your Interests,
and

Inter-regnum.
1651.

August.

and all possible Means God may put into your Hands, to give a Check to this vile Generation untill our Army come up, who will follow hard after them, that the Goods of the Land may not be devoured by such Caterpillers.

I have withall about 3000 Horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of, as God in his Love and Wisdom shall please to instruct me, and wherewith I hope to give the Enemy some Trouble, if some Foot could be speedily raised to break down Bridges or stop some Passages upon them. However, considering the Battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this Juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all Diligence in our Stations to quit ourselves as the Friends of Christ, against the Men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn he will set his Son upon his Holy Hill, and they that oppose him shall be broken in Pieces as a Potter's Vessel. The Enemy's Hope is, That Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them, (seeing they have lost their Credit with their own Countrymen) which we hope God will prevent in a good Measure by your Hands, and also lift up a Standard against them; wherein not doubting your best Assistance, and, much more, the loving Kindness of God, I remain

Yours,

T. HARRISON.

P. S. It will be very necessary that before the Approach of the Enemy, all Kind of Horses, Cattle, and Provision, be driven out of the Way, for the better Prevention of them to their Owners, and Disappointment of the Enemy: They mount their Foot upon all the Horses they can get, wherefore it will be necessary the Foot you raise should be also mounted to answer them, they being a flying Party. I desire to hear from you with all convenient Speed, being upon my March towards Richmond, and so to lye upon

on the Skirts of Yorkshire, if possible to get before the Enemy if they should intend by the way of Cheshire.

Inter-regnum,
1651.

August.

The Proceedings of this Day abound with Instances of the vigorous Resolutions of the Parliament, touching the Invasion of the Scots; for, besides the Votes of the House already mentioned, they passed no less than three several Acts for the Support of their new Commonwealth against the present threatened Danger, all which are well worth our Notice". And first,

An Act empowering the Commissioners of the Militia to raise Forces and Money; and for reviving all Commissions formerly granted by Ordinance of Parliament, or the Council of State, to any Colonels, &c. Another containing Instructions to the Commissioners of the Militia; whereby it was enacted, ' That all Persons inhabiting within the late Lines of Communication, should give, in Writing under their Hands, an Account of all Ordnance, Arms, or Ammunition in their respective Possession; and not dispose of any within ten Days after passing this Act, without the Leave of two Commissioners: That no Person sequester'd, or who had been in Arms against the Parliament, or not taken the Engagement, should be allowed to wear about them any Arms whatever: That all Householders should give in a List of the Names and Condition of their Lodgers: That all Parents and Masters of Families should keep their Sons and Men-Servants close to their Business, to prevent all tumultuous Meetings; and if any of their Sons or Men-Servants absented themselves twelve Hours from their respective Homes, their Parents or Masters, not giving an Account thereof to the Commissioners of the Militia, were declared liable to Sequestration.

But

ⁿ From the original Editions, published by R. Ibbetson, and licensed by Mr. Scobell, Clerk of the Parliament. The Titles only, not the Acts themselves, are printed in his Collection.

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

And for declaring
it High Treason
to hold any Cor-
respondence with
the King.

But the great Stroke of all was intituled,

A DECLARATION and ACT, prohibiting Cor-
respondence with Charles Stuart or his Party.

Whereas certain *English* Fugitives gather-
ing themselves together in the Parts of
Scotland, did heretofore, perfidiously and traiter-
ously, assist the Enemies and Invaders of this
Commonwealth, endeavouring, with Foreigners
and Persons of desperate Condition, to bring a
War upon their native Country; and, in order
thereunto, did set up for their Head *Charles Stu-*
art, calling him their King, who had formerly
been declared a Traitor to the Parliament and
People of *England*: And whereas afterwards, to
divert the sad Calamities thereby likely to ensue
within the Bowels of this Land, it pleased the
Lord to direct the Parliament of this Common-
wealth to send an Army into *Scotland*; and to
afford them his gracious Assistance and Blessing
in so wonderful a Manner, that a good Part of
Scotland is become within the Power of this Com-
monwealth; and the said *Charles Stuart* with his
Accomplices, the Remainder of his Party, find-
ing their own Weakness and Disability to conti-
nue longer in that Country, are now fled into
England: For Prevention therefore of the Mis-
chiefs which may befall divers of the good People
of this Nation, in case the said Fugitives be not
timely overtaken by the *English* Army; and to
the end all Persons may be further warned, the
Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*
have thought fit to enact and declare, That no
Person whatsoever do presume to hold any Cor-
respondence with the said *Charles Stuart*, or his
Party, nor give Intelligence to them; nor coun-
tenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist
them; nor voluntarily afford or deliver, or cause
to be afforded or delivered, to them, any Vic-
tuals, Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, Horses,
Plate, Money, Men, or any other Relief what-
soever, under Pain of High Treason.

And

‘ And the Parliament doth hereby command all
 ‘ Persons to use their Endeavours to hinder and
 ‘ stop the March and Passage of the said *Charles*
 ‘ *Stuart* and his Party, and of every of them; and
 ‘ to resist and oppose them, according to such Or-
 ‘ ders and Directions as they shall receive from the
 ‘ Parliament, or from the Council of State ap-
 ‘ pointed by Authority of Parliament, or from the
 ‘ General of the Forces of this Commonwealth,
 ‘ or from such other Persons as shall be thereunto
 ‘ authorized. And it is further enacted, That
 ‘ whosoever shall offend against this Act and De-
 ‘ claration, shall be proceeded against by a Council
 ‘ of War, who are hereby authorized to hear and
 ‘ determine all and every the said Offences; and
 ‘ such as shall, by the said Council, be condemned
 ‘ to suffer Death, shall also forfeit all his and their
 ‘ Lands, Goods, and other Estates, as in case of
 ‘ High Treason.’

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

This Act was to continue in Force only till the
 first of *December*, 1651. And Prosecutions to be
 commenced within three Months after the Offence
 committed.

Aug. 13. A Letter from the Lord *Broghill*, near Lord *Broghill's*
Mallo, dated *July 28*, 1651, was read; setting forth, ‘ That the Lord Deputy *Ireton* having com-
 manded him to prevent the Lord *Muskerry's* join-
 ing the Pope's Nuncio, who had got together a
 Body of 8000 Men, and was determined, as soon
 as he was joined by *Muskerry*, to attempt the Re-
 lief of *Limerick*; the Lord *Broghill*, tho' he had
 but 600 Foot and 400 Horse assigned him for this
 Service, marched with so much Expedition, that
 he came up with *Muskerry* before he was able to
 join the Nuncio: That notwithstanding Lord *Mus-*
kerry was at the Head of 1000 Horse and Dragoons,
 and about 2000 Foot, Lord *Broghill* fell resolute-
 ly upon him: That the Charge was desperate on
 both Sides: That the *Irish* at last surrounded the
English, but offered the Lord *Broghill* fair Quarter;
 who

Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

who, to encourage his Men, expos'd his own Person where-ever the Enemies seem'd most likely to prevail: That his Lordship refusing to accept of the Quarter which was offer'd him, the *Irish* cried out, *Kill the Fellow in the Gold-laced Coat*; which in all Probability they had done, if a Reformado-Lieutenant, of his own Troop, had not come in to his Rescue; who, before he could bring him off, was shot twice himself, and had his Horse killed under him: And that the *English*, after the Example of their Commander, resolving now either to conquer or die, fought with so desperate a Courage, that they at last routed their Enemies, of whom they killed 600 upon the Spot, and took a good Number Prisoners.

Hereupon the House order'd Thanks to be given to Almighty God the next Lord's Day, for this great Victory, and the late Successes of their Forces in *Scotland*.

August 14. The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* reported from the Council of State the following Letter from Col. *Whalley*.

Settle, in Craven, Aug. 11,
1651.

Dear Sir,

A Letter from
Col. *Whalley*,
concerning the
Situation of the
English and *Scott*
Armies.

Through the Mercy of God we have now reach'd the Enemy, being as near you as they are. We are this Night, with five of our best Regiments of Horse, quarter'd at *Settle*, in *Craven*, 140 Miles from *St. Johnstoun*, where we were on Sunday was Se'nnight.

The Enemy, as we hear, are quarter'd about *Lancaster*; that is the furthest: They have not above 4000 Horse and Dragoons and 8000 Foot, and them very sickly, and drop off daily: If they continue their long Marches they will quickly lose all their Infantry.

My Lord-General, with the Foot and the rest of the Horse, lie this Night, as is supposed, at *Hexham*

The

‘ The Enemy are in a desperate Condition ; Inter-regnum.
1651.
 ‘ they are contemptible in the Eyes of the Country
 ‘ Men, being pitiful poor Creatures ; but I pray
 ‘ God our Trust may be only in the Lord, and not
 ‘ in our Strength nor their Weakness. The Coun-
 ‘ try shew themselves very loving to us, and offer
 ‘ themselves to do us what Service they can: They
 ‘ bring us constant Intelligence of the Enemy’s
 ‘ Motion, being very active to scout about for us.
 ‘ Very few go in to the Enemy : I scarce hear of
 ‘ a Gentleman but Capt. *Howard*, who went in to
 ‘ the *Scots* with about twelve of his Troopers ; but
 ‘ most of them are returned. His Cousin *Howard*,
 ‘ the Lord *Suffolk*’s Brother, attempted to go, but
 ‘ Capt. *Howard* hearing of it, and where he was,
 ‘ went with some of his Men to take him ; he got
 ‘ his Horses, tho’ mist of him ; but he is since taken
 ‘ and carried to *Carlisle*. The Lord be with you
 ‘ and us in this great, and I hope last, Business as to
 ‘ *England* and *Scotland*, in Point of fighting ; and
 ‘ so I rest

Yours most affectionately,

EDW. WHALLEY.

Thus we have brought this Volume from the
 Death of King *Charles* the First to *Charles* the Se-
 cond’s Entry into *England* at the Head of a *Scots*
 Army, that of the Parliament being within a few
 Days march of them ; both Parties seeming equally
 desirous of engaging : The one to perpetuate their
 new Commonwealth, the other to re-establish Mo-
 narchy in the House of *Stuart*.

Ed Whalley 11/12/27

END of the NINETEENTH VOLUME.

